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OUTLINES OF NINETEENTH CENTURY HISTORY

BY

PHILIP VAN NESS MYERS

AUTHOR OF "MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY" AND
"A GENERAL HISTORY"



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PREFACE

This little book comprises those chapters of my revised "Mediaeval and Modern History" which cover nineteenth century events after 1815. They are here bound separately at the request of teachers who desire to use them in this form.

P. V. N. M.

COLLEGE HILL, OHIO
April, 1906

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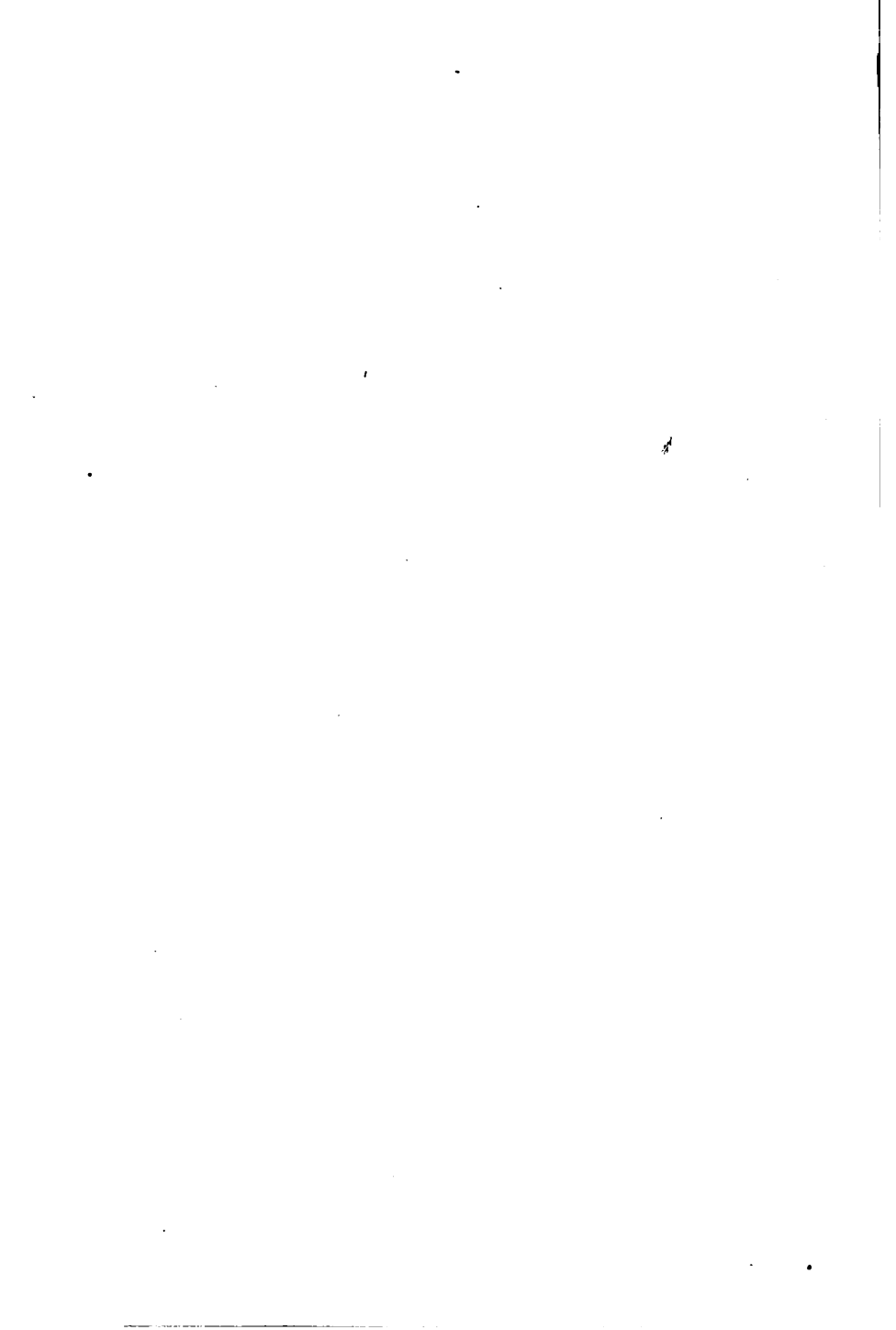
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NINETEENTH CENTURY HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND METTERNICH

1. Ideas bequeathed by the French Revolution to the Nineteenth Century. — The social and political history of Europe since the overthrow of Napoleon is a continuation of the history of the great revolt which broke out in France in 1789. The dominant forces at work throughout this period have been the ideas or principles inherited from the French Revolution.

There were three of these ideas, with which, as revolutionary forces in history, the student becomes familiar in tracing the story of the Revolution and the Empire. The first was the idea or principle of equality. The Revolutionists proclaimed this doctrine with religious fervor. It was spread broadcast over Europe. The French army, as it has been tersely expressed, was "equality on the march." The Code Napoléon embodied this principle of equality, and wherever it was set up — in the Netherlands, in the West German states, in part of Poland, in Switzerland, and in Italy — it exerted the same leveling influence that it had in France. As Christianity brought in equality before God, so did the Revolution bring in equality before Cæsar. The one made all men equal in the religious realm, the other made all men equal in the civil realm.

The second principle promulgated by the Revolution was that of popular sovereignty. According to this doctrine governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The

laws should be the expression of the will of all. The people either directly or through their representatives should have part in the government. All rulers and magistrates are the servants of the people and are responsible to them.

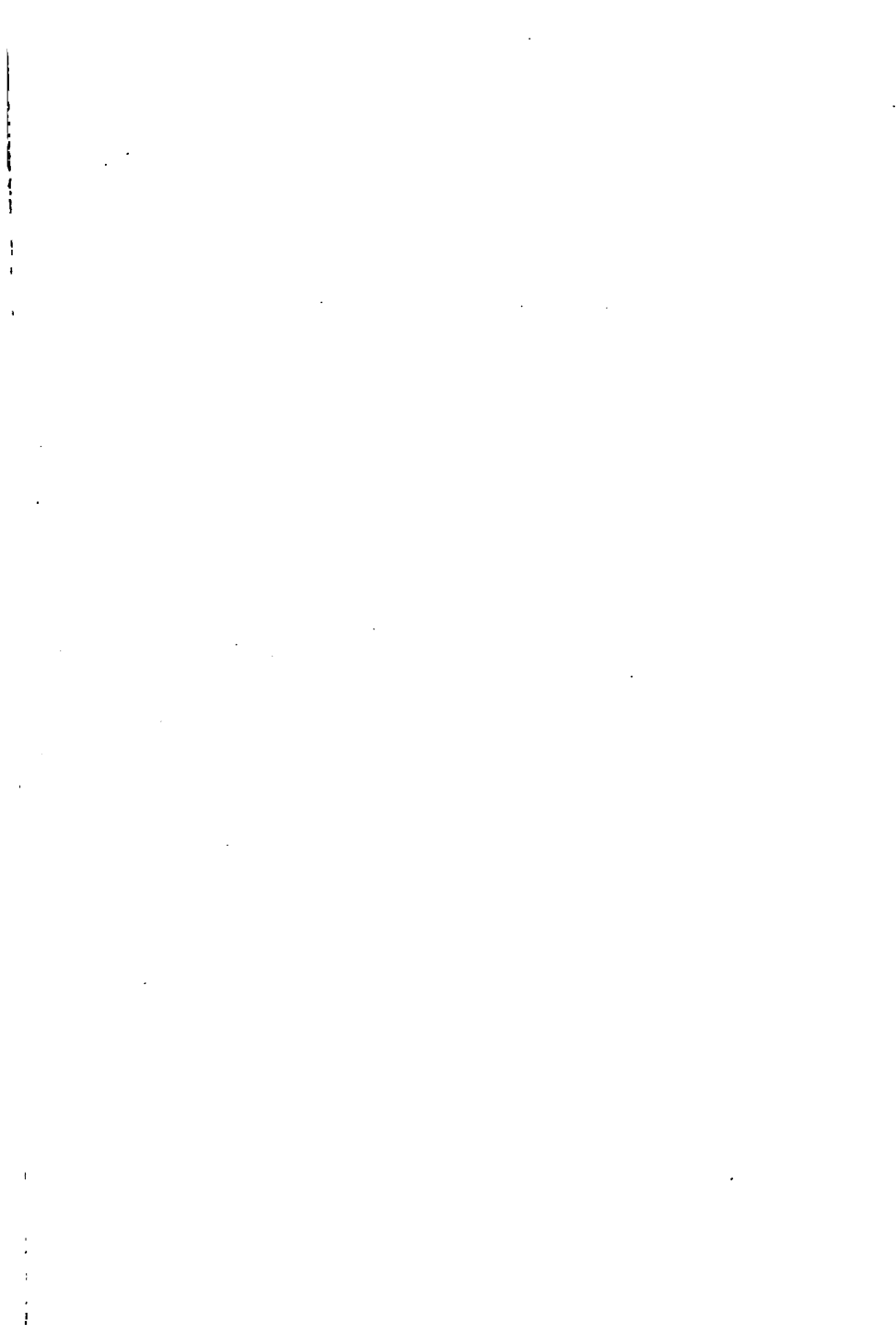
The third principle that underlay the Revolution was that of nationality. This principle requires that the state shall coincide with the nation. It demands that every nation shall be free to choose its own form of government and to manage its own affairs in its own way. This idea worked itself out during the course of the Revolution. It was evoked in great measure by Napoleon's cynical disregard of national sentiment and his wanton violation of national rights.

These principles or ideas, as we have said, were the precious political heritage which the nineteenth century received from the Revolution.¹ They were full of vitality and energy. Their out-working, their embodiment in social institutions, in law, in government, makes up a large part of the history of the more advanced nations of the world since the downfall of Napoleon.

But these ideas, as we have intimated, have not had free course. Their embodiment in social institutions and in political forms has, in most of the European countries, been a process violent and revolutionary in character. This has resulted from these liberal principles coming into conflict with certain opposing conservative doctrines with which they have had to struggle for supremacy. And this brings us to the starting point of the history of the nineteenth century, — the celebrated Congress of Vienna.

2. The Congress of Vienna (September, 1814–June, 1815). — After the first abdication of Napoleon, in the year 1814, the European sovereigns, either in person or by their representatives, met at Vienna to readjust the affairs of the Continent. As we shall hereafter, in connection with the history of the separate

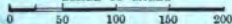
¹ Of course these ideas were not novel doctrines promulgated now for the first time. All that is meant by calling them the ideas of the French Revolution is that by the Revolution they were invested with new authority and were given a new course in the world.



After 1815

After 1815

SCALE OF MILES



12° Longitude East from Green





European countries, have occasion to say something respecting the relations of each to the Congress, we shall here say only a word regarding the spirit and temper of the assembly and the general character of its work.

The Vienna commissioners seemed to have but one thought and aim, — to restore everything as nearly as possible to its condition before the Revolution. They had no care for the people ; the princes were their only concern. The principle of nationality was wholly ignored, while that of the sovereignty of the people was, by most of the plenipotentiaries, looked upon as a principle of disorder to be repressed in every possible way.

The first principle adopted by the Congress was that of legitimacy. According to this principle a throne is to be regarded like an ordinary piece of property. Long possession gives a good and indefeasible title.

Under this rule all the new usurping families set up by Napoleon were swept aside without ceremony, and the old exiled dynasties were restored. The most important of these restitutions, effected either by the direct action of the Congress or already consummated by events and confirmed by it, were those which brought back the banished Bourbon dynasties in France, Spain, and Naples.²

The question of legitimacy having been settled, the next question was how the territories recovered from Napoleon should be distributed among the dynasties recognized as legitimate. For most of the sovereigns this was the subject of chief interest. Russia wanted the whole of Poland ; Prussia wanted the kingdom of Saxony ; Sweden wanted Norway ; Austria wanted territory in Italy.

In making the distribution the Vienna map makers took no thought whatever of the rights and claims of race or nationality. The inhabitants of the countries available for division were apportioned among the different sovereigns exactly as a herd of

² The principle was applied only in the case of hereditary lay rulers. And even here an exception was made in the case of hundreds of petty German rulers whose territories Napoleon in his reorganization of Germany had given to the larger states. These princelets were not restored.

cattle might be divided up and apportioned among different owners. The following territorial settlements were among the most important.

The Belgian and Dutch provinces were united into a single state, which, under the name of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, was given to a prince of the House of Orange. The idea here was to create on this side of France as strong a barrier as possible against French aggression in the future. The fact that the Dutch and the Belgians, by reason of differences in race, in religion, and in industrial development, really formed two distinct nations was wholly ignored.

Sweden was confirmed in the possession of Norway,³ which Denmark lost as a consequence of her alliance with Napoleon.

Russia was allowed to retain Finland and Bessarabia, and was given the greater part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The Polish lands acquired by Russia were made into what was called the Kingdom of Poland, with the Tsar as its king. The Poles were informed that they must give up all thought and hope of the restoration of their national independence.

Prussia was given about half of the kingdom of Saxony, extensive territories on both sides of the Rhine, and other lands, which gave her a more preponderant position in Germany than she had before the Revolution.

Austria, in compensation for the loss of her Netherland provinces, was given, besides a long strip of the eastern shore lands of the Adriatic Sea, Lombardy and Venetia in Upper Italy. This extension of Austrian rule over Italian lands was one of the grossest violations of the principles of nationality of which the Congress was guilty, and was to be signally avenged when the hour for Italian unity and independence arrived.

In Germany the Congress built upon the basis laid by Napoleon. Thirty-nine of the forty-two sovereign states, including

³ The two countries were to form a dual monarchy, each having its own Parliament, or Diet, but united under a single crown. This arrangement subsisted until 1805, when Norway declared the union dissolved, and, choosing Prince Charles of Denmark as king, became an independent kingdom.

Prussia and Austria, to which he had reduced the hundreds of states constituting the old Germanic system, were organized into a confederation modeled upon the Confederation of the Rhine.⁴

In Italy, on the other hand, Napoleon's work was undone and the old order of things was reestablished. With the exception of the provinces in the north, which had been given to Austria, the peninsula was divided into independent states, such as had existed before the Revolution.

A third matter which particularly occupied the attention of the committee on German affairs was the granting of constitutions to their subjects by the different sovereigns. In spirit and in temper the restored rulers were for the most part the old pre-revolutionary despots come to their own again, but thoroughly frightened by what had happened. Their desire was to rule in the old arbitrary way; but there were those among them who recognized that a change had come over the world, and that the old absolutism could not with safety be reestablished. The Tsar Alexander seemed to entertain some genuine liberal ideas.

Consequently constitutions were talked about. Louis XVIII had been required by the terms of the treaties of Paris to give France a constitution, the allies understanding perfectly that if the restored Bourbons should attempt to rule as absolute sovereigns there would be trouble again which would unsettle everything in Europe. And now the Congress recommended to the German princes that representative bodies (Assemblies of Estates) be established in each state. But the only states, besides France, which at this time actually received constitutions were the Netherlands, Switzerland, Poland, and Norway.

And even where constitutions already existed or were now granted, these charters gave the people very little share in the government. They were constitutions of the aristocratic type, that is, they placed the government, where its form was monarchical, in the hands of the sovereign and a very small body of voters. Practically the old régime of absolutism was almost everywhere reestablished.

⁴ For further details concerning the reorganization of Germany, see sec. 58.

But the Revolution had impaired beyond restoration reverence for the divine right of kings. An attempt to restore autocratic government in Europe was an attempt to restore an outgrown cult, — to set up again the fallen Dagon in his place. Notwithstanding, the commissioners at Vienna, blind to the spirit and tendencies of the times, did set up once more the broken idol, — only, however, to see it flung down again by the memorable political upheavals of the next half century. The kings had had

their Congress; the people were to have theirs, — in 1820 and '30, and '48.



FIG. 1. — PRINCE METTERNICH.
(From a painting by *Sir Thomas Lawrence*)

3. Prince Metternich, the Incarnation of the Spirit of the Restoration. — The spirit of the monarchical restoration of 1815, the spirit which controlled the Congress of Vienna; was incarnate in the celebrated Austrian minister, Prince Metternich.

Metternich hated the Revolution, which to him was the spirit of evil let loose in the world. The democratic spirit he declared to be the spirit of disorder which could not fail "to change daylight into darkest night." The demand of the people for a share in government he regarded as presumptuous, and was wholly convinced that any concession to their demands could result in nothing save horrible confusion and bloodshed.

Metternich's system, therefore, was a system of repression. His maxim was, Let nothing be changed. A diplomatist of wonderful astuteness, of wide experience, and possessed of an intimate knowledge of the public affairs of all Europe, Metternich exerted a vast influence upon the history of the years from 1815 to 1848. This period might appropriately be called the Age of Metternich. It was due largely to the Prince that during this

period the old autocratic form of government prevailed so generally in Europe.

4. Metternich and the Holy Alliance. — The activity of Metternich during the earlier portion of the period of his ascendancy was so closely connected with a celebrated league known as the Holy Alliance that we must here say a word respecting the origin of this association.

The Holy Alliance was a religious league formed just after the fall of Napoleon by the Tsar Alexander and having as its chief members Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The ostensible object of the league was the maintenance of religion, peace, and order in Europe and the reduction to practice in politics of the maxims of Christ. The several sovereigns entering into the union promised to be fathers to their people, to rule in love and with reference solely to the promotion of the welfare of their subjects.

All this had a very millennial look. But the Holy Alliance very soon became practically a league for the maintenance of absolute principles of government, in opposition to the liberal tendencies of the age. Under the pretext of maintaining religion, justice, and order, the sovereigns of the union acted in concert to suppress every aspiration for political liberty among their subjects.

5. Other Nineteenth Century Principles, Movements, and Interests. — Lest the foregoing paragraphs should create in the mind of the reader a wrong impression of nineteenth century history, we must here remind him that no single formula will suffice to sum up the history of any age. History is ever very complex, for many ideas and many forces are always simultaneously at work shaping and coloring events.

The history of the nineteenth century presents a special complexity. While the great ideas transmitted to the age as a bequest from the Revolution were forces that gave the age its chief features, still throughout the century various other ideas, principles, and interests manifested themselves and contributed greatly to fill particularly the later years of the period with a vast complexity of movements, — intellectual, political, and industrial.

The spirit of the Renaissance was in the society of the period a pervasive and powerful influence. Throughout the century intelligence was becoming more diffused, and modern science, the special product of the Revival of Learning, was constantly revealing fresh wonders and arming man with new instruments of research and of mastery over nature.

The true spirit of the Reformation, too, was at work. As the century advanced, creeds grew more liberal, and the beneficent sentiment of toleration in religion, which has been declared to be "the best fruit of the last four centuries,"⁵ made rapid progress in the world.

Furthermore, the century was marked by a wonderful expansion movement of the European peoples, a movement which has given the world into the possession of the new and higher civilization created by the revolutions of the last three centuries in the home land of Europe. To this significant movement we shall devote a separate chapter under the heading "The Expansion of Europe."

Lastly, the nineteenth century witnessed an unparalleled industrial development, resulting from fortunate mechanical inventions and a great variety of other causes. To the phenomena of this new movement we shall be able to devote only a few closing paragraphs. In these we shall attempt nothing more than merely to indicate the relation of this industrial revolution to the general development of human society.

Selections from the Sources. — *Memoirs of Prince Metternich* (trans. by Mrs. Alexander Napier), vol. ii, pp. 553-599, and vols. iii-v. These volumes cover the years from 1815 to 1829. They are of the first importance for this period. In them the spirit of the Restoration is incarnated. FORD, *Life and Letters of Madame Krüdener*. This work lights up a remarkable passage in the life of the Russian Emperor Alexander I, and reveals the genesis of the Holy Alliance. *Translations and Reprints*, vol. i, No. 3, "The Restoration and the European Policy of Metternich" (ed. by James Harvey Robinson).

Secondary Works. — Among the great number of works on nineteenth century history the following are among the best of those in English which

⁵ The inscription written by President Charles W. Eliot for the Water Gate of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893.

present in brief survey the whole or some considerable part of the history of the period: FYFFE, *A History of Modern Europe, 1792-1878*; PHILLIPS, *Modern Europe, 1815-1899*; ANDREWS, *The Historical Development of Modern Europe*; SEIGNOBOS, *A Political History of Europe since 1814*; WHITCOMB, *A History of Modern Europe*; ROBINSON, *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe*; MÜLLER, *Political History of Recent Times*; and JUDSON, *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*.

Biographies and works dealing with some particular subject or some limited portion of the nineteenth century: STEPHENS, *Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815*, "Introduction," for suggestive paragraphs on the principles which have molded nineteenth century history, and chap. xi, for the Congress of Vienna; MALLESON, *Life of Prince Metternich*; LOWELL, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*; and LODGE, *A History of Modern Europe*, chaps. xxv-xxviii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna. 2. Prince Metternich and his system. 3. Madame Krüdener and the Tsar Alexander I.

CHAPTER II

FRANCE SINCE THE SECOND RESTORATION (1815-1906)

6. Character of the Period. — The social and political history of France since the second restoration of the Bourbons may be characterized briefly. It has been simply a continuation of the Revolution,¹ — of the struggle between democratic and monarchical principles. The aim of the Revolution was to abolish privileges and establish rights, — to give every man lot and part in the government under which he lives. These liberal ideas and principles have on the whole, notwithstanding repeated reverses, gained ground; for revolutions never move backward. There may be eddies and countercurrents in a river, but the steady and powerful sweep of the stream is ever onward towards the sea. Not otherwise is it with the great social and intellectual movements of history.

7. The Reign of Louis XVIII (1815[14]–1824). — “Your king, whose fathers reigned over your fathers for more than eight centuries, now returns to devote the rest of his days to defend and to comfort you.”

Such were the words used by Louis upon his second return to his people after Waterloo. The events of the Hundred Days had instructed and humbled him: “I may have made mistakes,” he said frankly, “and probably have done so.”

Profiting by his experience, Louis ruled throughout a great part of the remainder of his reign with reasonable heed to the changes effected by the Revolution. But as he grew old and infirm he yielded more and more to the extreme Royalist party, which

¹ Each of the revolutions of the period may be characterized as Metternich characterized the Revolution of 1830, namely, “as nothing else than a recurrence of the Revolution of 1789.”

was again raising its head, and the government entered upon a course looking to the restoration of the old order of things.

8. The Reign of Charles X (1824-1830); the Revolution of 1830. — Upon the death of Louis in 1824 and the accession of Charles X, this reactionary policy soon became more pronounced. The new king seemed utterly incapable of profiting by the teachings of the past. It was particularly his blind, stubborn course that gave point to the saying, "A Bourbon learns nothing and forgets nothing."

It is not necessary for our purpose that we rehearse in detail what Charles did or what he failed to do. His aim was to undo the work of the Revolution, just as it was the aim of James II in England to undo the work of the Puritan Revolution. He disregarded the constitution, restored the clergy to power, reëstablished a strict censorship of the press, and changed the laws by royal proclamation. He seemed bent on restoring divine-right monarchy in France. He declared that he would rather saw wood for a living than rule after the fashion of the English kings.

The outcome of Charles' course might have been foreseen: Paris rose in revolt; the streets were blocked with barricades; Charles was escorted to the seacoast, whence he took ship for England.

France did not at this time think of a republic. She was inclined to try further the experiment of a constitutional monarchy. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who represented the younger branch of the Bourbon family, was placed on the throne and the constitution was revised. In the charter which Louis XVIII had granted he had styled himself "King of France *by the grace of God.*" The new constitution declared Louis Philippe to be "King of the French by the grace of God *and by the will of the nation.*" The first principle of the Revolution — the sovereignty of the people — was thus embodied in the fundamental law of France.

Louis Philippe had traveled about the world considerably and had lived in a democratic sort of way. He had looked on complacently at the taking of the Bastille, had been in America, and

had taught school in Switzerland. The middle classes therefore with some reason looked upon him as one of themselves, and gave him the title of "Citizen King."

9. Effect upon Europe of the "July Revolution" of 1830; Origin of the Kingdom of Belgium. — France has been called the Enceladus of Europe. There is sufficient instruction in the suggested parable to make it worth our while to recall the myth to memory. As fable has it, Enceladus was one of the giants who made war upon Olympian Jove. In the rout of the giants, Minerva, helping Jove, disabled Enceladus by throwing *Ætna* on top of him and pinning him forever to the earth. The stability of things in Sicily was thereby endangered, for as often as the giant turned his weary sides the whole island was convulsed.

France, having made war upon the Olympian hierarchy of divine-right kings, is by them worsted in battle and then pinned to the earth with the weight of Bourbonism. As often as the giant turns his weary sides there is an eruption, and the whole continent, like *Trinacria* of old, trembles to its remotest verge.

The convulsion in Paris shook all the restored thrones, and for a moment threatened to topple into ruins the whole fabric of absolutism that had been so carefully upreared by Metternich and the other political restorationists of the Congress of Vienna.

In the Netherlands the artificial order established in 1815 (sec. 2) was wholly destroyed. The Belgians arose, declared themselves independent of Holland, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as their king (1831). Thus came into existence the separate kingdom of Belgium. The independence and neutrality of the little state was guaranteed by all the great powers.

10. The Revolution of 1848 and the Establishment of the Second Republic. — The reign of Louis Philippe up to 1848 was very unquiet, yet was not marked by any disturbance of great importance. But during all this time the ideas of the Revolution were working among the people, and the democratic party was constantly gaining in strength. Finally there came a demand for the extension of the suffrage. At this time there were only about

two hundred thousand voters in France, the possession of a certain amount of property being required as a qualification for the franchise. The government steadily refused all electoral reforms. Guizot, the king's chief minister, declared that "this world is no place for universal suffrage."

Enceladus at last turned his weary sides. There was a convulsion like that of 1830. The center of this disturbance of course was Paris. Louis Philippe, thoroughly frightened by the prodigy, fled to England. After his departure the Paris mob dragged the throne out of the Tuileries and made a bonfire of it.

The Second Republic was now established, with the poet-historian Lamartine as its provisional Minister of Foreign Affairs. A new constitution, some features of which were copied from the Constitution of the United States, established universal suffrage.² The number of voters was at a stroke increased from a quarter of a million to upwards of eight millions. An election being ordered, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte,³ a nephew of the great Napoleon, was chosen President of the new Republic (Dec. 10, 1848).

The Paris "February Revolution," as it is called, lighted the beacon fires of liberty throughout Europe.⁴ "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, during the month of March, 1848, not a single day passed without a constitution being granted somewhere." France had made another of her irresistible invasions of the states of Europe, — "an invasion of ideas."

² There was a socialistic element in this Revolution of 1848. It was inaugurated by the working classes of Paris. One of the demands of the socialists was that the government should find work for the unemployed. National workshops were established by the provisional government, but the experiment was unsuccessful and the shops were soon closed.

³ This man had already played a singular rôle. In 1836 he had appeared suddenly at Strasburg, thinking to raise the French garrison there against the government. He was arrested and banished to America. Again in 1840 the adventurer, taking advantage of the revival of popular interest in the first Napoleon caused by the bringing of his ashes from St. Helena to France, made a somewhat similar attempt at revolution at Boulogne. He was arrested a second time and condemned to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Ham in Picardy. After about five years' confinement he escaped and found his way to England.

⁴ The revolution in Paris was not so much the cause as merely the signal for revolutions elsewhere. It imparted fresh energy to revolutionary forces which were ready to break forth or which had already found vent in violent explosions.

11. **The Second Empire (1852-1870).**—The life of the Second Republic spanned only three years. By almost exactly the same steps as those by which his uncle had mounted the imperial throne, Louis Napoleon now also ascended to the imperial dignity, crushing the Republic as he rose.

A contest having arisen between the President and the National Assembly, the President planned a *coup d'état*. He caused the arrest at night of the most prominent of the deputies opposed to him in the Assembly and such popular leaders in Paris as might incite the people to resistance. When the inhabitants of the capital awoke in the morning (Dec. 2, 1851) they found the city placarded with proclamations announcing the dissolution of the Assembly and outlining the main articles of a new constitution, which was to be at once submitted to the people for approval.



FIG. 2. — NAPOLEON III
(After a portrait by F. Winterhalter)

The President's appeal to the people to indorse what he had done met with a most extraordinary response. By a majority of almost seven million votes⁵ the nation approved the President's *coup d'état* and rewarded him for it by

extending his term of office to ten years. This was in effect the revival of the Consulate of 1799. The next year Louis Napoleon was made Emperor, and took the title of Napoleon III (1852).

The secret of Louis Napoleon's success in his *coup d'état* was in part the fear that prevailed of the renewal of the Terror of 1793, and in part the magic power of the name he bore. At just this time the name Napoleon was in France a name to conjure with. There had been growing up a Napoleonic legend. Time had idealized the founder of the First Empire.

⁵ The exact vote was 7,481,216 to 684,419.

As the Second and the Third Republic were simply revivals and continuations of the First Republic, so was the Second Empire merely the revival and continuation of the First Empire. It was virtually the same in origin, in spirit, and in policy.

Louis Napoleon had declared that the Empire meant peace. But it meant anything except that. The pages of its history are filled with the records of wars. There were three important ones in which the armies of the Empire took part, — the Crimean War (1853-1856), the Austro-Sardinian War (1859), and the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871).

The first two of these wars need not detain us at this time, since we shall speak of them later in connection with Russian and Italian affairs.⁶ All that need be said here is that in each of them Louis Napoleon greatly enhanced his prestige throughout Europe.

The real cause of the third war, the one between Prussia and France, was French jealousy of the growing power of Prussia, around which as the preponderant German state the unification of Germany was fast proceeding.

Louis Napoleon, now aging and broken in health, was himself averse to the war. But he was forced into it by the mad clamor of Paris and the vehemence of the war party throughout the country. Even the Empress Eugénie was eager for war, since she believed that thereby the Empire would be strengthened in the affections of the French people and the succession of her son to the imperial throne assured.

With everything in a state of culpable and incredible unreadiness, although the highest military authority had declared that the army was ready and more than ready, France, "with a light heart," plunged into the fateful war. "Down with Prussia! On to Berlin!" was the cry.

There came a quick and terrible disillusionment. A single small column of French soldiers was barely able to set foot for a moment on German soil, — just long enough to enable the Prince Imperial to receive there his "baptism of fire." In a few days after the French declaration of war the great German hosts had

⁶ See secs. 51 and 79.

been gathered. Three immense armies, numbering half a million of men, all animated by the spirit of 1813, swept over the frontier. One large French army was defeated in the memorable battle of Gravelotte (Aug. 18, 1870) and shut up in Metz. Then followed the surrender at Sedan, where eighty-three thousand men, including the Emperor himself, gave themselves up as prisoners of war⁷ (Sept. 2, 1870).

The German columns now advanced to Paris and began the investment of the city (Sept. 19, 1870). All reasonable hope of a successful defense of the capital was soon destroyed by the surrender to the Germans of Marshal Bazaine at Metz (Oct. 23, 1870). One hundred and seventy-three thousand soldiers and six thousand officers became prisoners of war, — the largest army ever taken captive.

But Paris held out stubbornly, with great suffering from cold and hunger, three months longer; and then, all outside measures for raising the siege having failed, capitulated (Jan. 30, 1871).

Outside of Paris, at Bordeaux, was a sort of provisional government headed by M. Thiers, which had been organized after the capture of the Emperor. With this body the conquerors carried on their negotiations for peace. The terms of the treaty were that France should surrender to Germany the Rhenish province of Alsace and one half of Lorraine, pay an indemnity of five thousand million francs (about \$1,000,000,000), and consent to the occupation of certain portions of French territory until the fine was paid. Never before was such a ransom paid by a nation.

The most lamentable part of the struggle now began. The Red Republicans, or Communists, of Paris,⁸ rising in insurrection against the provisional government both because of what it represented — the cause and programme of the conservative, property-holding classes — and because of its action in assenting to the dismemberment of France, organized a Committee of Public

⁷ After the war Louis Napoleon found an asylum in England (at Chiselhurst), where he died Jan. 9, 1873.

⁸ The strength of this party lay in the workingmen of Paris. It was the heir of the extreme Republican party of 1848 (sec. 10, n. 2) and in a sense the precursor of the socialist party found to-day in almost every country.

Safety in imitation of that of 1793, and called the population of the capital to arms. The government finally succeeded in suppressing the insurgents, and order was restored, though only after the destruction by fire of many public buildings, and frightful slaughters in the streets and squares of the city.

12. The Third Republic (1870—). — The provisional government which replaced the Empire was republican in form. M. Thiers, the historian, was the first President (1871-1873). But not until 1875 was it definitely decided that France should be a republic and not a monarchy or an empire. In that year a constitution⁹ was adopted, the tenth since 1791, which provided definitely for a republican form of government.

France has now (1906) been under the government of the Third Republic for thirty-six years, a longer period of freedom from revolution than any other since 1792. The current of political events, however, has during this time run somewhat turbulently. There have been many changes of presidents¹⁰ and of ministries, and much party rancor has been displayed; yet in spite of all untoward circumstances the cause of the Republic has steadily advanced, while that of the Monarchy and that of the Empire have as steadily gone backward. Bourbons and Bonapartes, like Stuarts, have gone into an exile from which there is no return.

Many of the difficulties and problems which have confronted the Republic were legacies to it from the Monarchy and the Empire, or more directly from the Franco-Prussian War.

An unfortunate heritage from the war that destroyed the Empire is the Alsace and Lorraine question. The French people have

⁹ This constitution is not, like our own, a single document, but consists of a series of laws passed at different times. As it now (1906) stands it provides for a legislature of two chambers, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, a President elected for seven years by the chambers in a joint meeting, and a Cabinet responsible to the legislature. The suffrage is universal.

¹⁰ These are the presidents of the Republic since the resignation of Thiers in 1873: Marshal MacMahon (resigned), 1873-1879; M. Grévy (resigned), 1879-1887; M. Carnot (assassinated), 1887-1894; M. Casimir-Périer (resigned), 1894-1895; M. Félix Faure (died in office), 1895-1899; M. Loubet, 1899-1906; and M. Clément Armand Fallières, 1906— .

never been able to reconcile themselves to the loss of these provinces, and their determination to regain them has contributed largely to convert France, and the whole Continent as well, into a permanent armed camp, and to make times of peace almost as burdensome to the nations as times of war.

A second legacy to the Republic was influential parties of Monarchists and Imperialists, who have endeavored in every way to discredit the republican régime, and who have watched for an opportunity to set up again either the Monarchy or the Empire. The dangerous intrigues of these parties led in 1886 to the expulsion from France of all the Bourbon and Bonaparte claimants of the throne and their direct heirs.

A third bequest to the Republic from the ancient régime was the educational problem. Before the Revolution, education in France was mainly in the hands of the religious orders. The Revolution swept away these bodies and secularized the educational system.

The restoration of the Monarchy brought about also the restoration of the religious orders. The system of education was now mixed, being in part lay and in part clerical. Two wholly different spirits were at work in it,—the spirit of the ancient, and the spirit of the modern, régime. Among the Liberals a strong section demanded the suppression of the clerical schools and the complete secularization of education.

The first of the religious associations to suffer was the Society of Jesus. In 1880 the convents and schools of the Jesuits were closed and the society was expelled from France. In 1903 fifty-four religious orders of men, embracing teaching, preaching, and commercial associations, were suppressed. Over two thousand convents were closed. The wisdom as well as the justice of this censorship of teaching may well be questioned.

The Republic has also had troubles which can in no sense be regarded as an inheritance from the ancient régime. During the years 1889–1892 all France was shaken by a great scandal arising from the gross mismanagement and failure of a company organized by Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had won great fame by the successful construction of the Suez Canal, for the digging of a

similar canal at the Isthmus of Panama. After the expenditure of upwards of \$260,000,000, with the work in a very unsatisfactory condition, the company became bankrupt. It then developed that bribery and corruption on a scale as gigantic as the undertaking itself had been resorted to by the promoters of the enterprise. Prosecutions followed. Among those condemned to severe punishment was Ferdinand de Lesseps himself. He was already dying from age and worry when this final blow fell upon him. It was a pathetic ending of a career which, aside from this last deplorable incident, is one of the most illustrious in modern French history.

As to the part which France has taken in recent colonial enterprises, particularly in the opening up to civilization of the continent of Africa, we shall find it more convenient to speak in another connection (Chapter IX).

Selections from the Sources. — FORBES, *My Experience of the War between France and Germany*. BINGHAM, *Journal of the Siege of Paris*; a graphic account of the siege by an Englishman who remained in Paris in order "to observe the conduct of the citizens." For material for a systematic study of the period, the special student should turn to ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents*.

Secondary Works. — In most of the works cited for the preceding chapter will be found chapters and sections dealing with French affairs during the period under review. To these authorities add the following: MARTIN, *A Popular History of France*, vols. ii (last part) and iii; HANTAUX, *Contemporary France*; BODLEY, *France* (a study of political institutions); DICKINSON, *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France*; COUBERTIN, *The Evolution of France under the Third Republic*; and LEBON and PELET, *France as It Is*.

For the Second Empire: JERROLD, *The Life of Napoleon III*, and FORBES, *The Life of Napoleon the Third*.

For brief summaries of the events of the period: LEBON, *Modern France*, chaps. viii-xvi; DURUY, *A History of France*; ADAMS, *The Growth of the French Nation*, chap. xviii; and HASSALL, *The French People*, chaps. xviii-xxi and xxiii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Louis Napoleon before 1848. 2. The Paris Commune of 1871. 3. Alfred Dreyfus. 4. Ferdinand de Lesseps and the Panama Canal. 5. France and the Vatican, or the annulment in 1905 of the Concordat of 1801 and the separation of State and Church in France.



FIG. 3. — QUEEN VICTORIA AS A YOUNG WOMAN
(After a painting by *Patridge*)

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND SINCE THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO (1815-1906)

13. The Four Chief Matters. — English history during the nineteenth century embraces a multitude of events. A short chapter covering the entire period will possess no instructive value unless it reduces the heterogeneous mass of facts to some sort of unity by placing events in relation with their causes, and thus shows how they are connected with a few broad national movements or tendencies.

Studying the period in this way, we shall find that very many of its leading events may be summed up under the four following heads: (1) progress towards democracy; (2) extension of the principle of religious equality; (3) England's relations with Ireland; and (4) the growth of the British colonial empire.

We shall attempt nothing more in the present chapter than to indicate the most prominent matters that should claim the student's attention along the first three lines of inquiry, reserving for later sections the consideration of England's colonial affairs.

I. PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

14. Introductory. — The English Revolution of 1688 transferred authority from the king to the Parliament. The elective branch of that body, however, rested upon a very narrow electoral basis. Out of upwards of five million Englishmen who should have had a voice in the government, less than two hundred thousand were voters, and these were chiefly of the rich upper classes. The political democratizing of England during the nineteenth century consists in the widening of the electorate, — in the giving to every intelligent and honest man a right to vote, to participate in the government under which he lives.

15. Effects of the French Revolution upon Liberalism in England; Reform versus Revolution. — The French Revolution at first gave a fresh impulse to liberal tendencies. The English Liberals watched the course of the French Republicans with the deepest interest and sympathy. The young writers, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey, were all infected with democratic sentiments and inspired with a generous enthusiasm for political liberty and equality. But the wild excesses of the French levelers terrified the English Liberals. There was a sudden revulsion of feeling. Liberal sentiments were denounced as dangerous and revolutionary.

But England's rapid growth in wealth after the close of the Napoleonic wars, together with the growing enlightenment of the people, led to a widespread desire for political reform. The terrors of the French Revolution were forgotten. Liberal sentiments began to spread among the masses. The people very justly complained that, while the English government claimed to be a government of the people, they had no part in it.

Now it is instructive to note the different ways in which Liberalism was dealt with by the English government and by the rulers on the Continent. In the Continental countries the rising spirit of democracy was met by cruel and despotic repressions. The people were denied by their rulers all participation in the affairs of government. We have seen the result of this

policy in France, and later shall see the outcome of it in other Continental countries. Liberalism triumphed indeed at last, but triumphed only through revolution.

In England the government did not resist the popular demands to the point of revolution. It made timely concessions to the growing spirit of democracy. Hence here, instead of a series of revolutions, we have a series of reform measures which, gradually popularizing the House of Commons, at last rendered the English nation, not alone in name but in reality, a self-governing people.

16. The Reform Bill of 1832. — The first Parliamentary step in reform was taken in 1832. To understand this important act a glance backward becomes necessary.

When, in 1265, the Commons were first admitted to Parliament, members were called only from those cities and boroughs whose wealth and population fairly entitled them to representation. In the course of time some of these places dwindled in population and new towns sprang up; yet the decayed boroughs retained their ancient privilege of sending members to Parliament, while the new towns were left entirely without representation. Thus Old Sarum, an ancient town now utterly decayed and without a single inhabitant, was represented in the Commons by two members. Furthermore, the sovereign, for the purpose of gaining influence in the Commons, had, from time to time, given unimportant places the right of returning members to the Lower House. It was inevitable that elections in these small or "pocket boroughs," as they were called, should almost always be determined by the corrupt influence of the crown or of the great landowners. The Lower House of Parliament was thus filled with the nominees of the king, or with persons who had bought their seats, often with little effort at concealment. At the same time, such large, recently grown manufacturing towns as Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester had no representation at all in the Commons.

Agitation was begun for the reform of this corrupt and farcical system of representation. The movement was greatly aided and given a more popular character than any earlier reform agitation

by the great newspapers which had come into existence during the latter part of the eighteenth century. The contest between Whigs and Tories, or Liberals and Conservatives, was long and bitter, the Conservatives opposing all reform and denying that there was any necessity for it. The excited state of the public feeling may be inferred from the following description by Lord Macaulay of the scene in the House of Commons upon the passage in that chamber of the first Reform Bill (1831): "Such a scene as the division of last Tuesday," he says, "I never saw, and never expect to see again. . . . It was like seeing Cæsar stabbed in the Senate-house, or seeing Oliver taking the mace from the table; a sight to be seen only once, and never to be forgotten. . . . The ayes and noes were like two volleys of cannon from opposite sides of a field of battle."

At last public feeling became so strong and menacing that the Lords, who were blocking the measure in the Upper House, were forced to yield, and the Reform Bill of 1832 became a law. By this act the English electoral system was radically changed. Eighty-six of the "rotten boroughs" were disfranchised or semi-disfranchised, and the hundred and forty-two seats in the Lower House taken from them were given to different counties and to large towns hitherto unrepresented. The bill also somewhat increased the number of electors by extending the right of voting to all persons in the towns owning or leasing property of a certain value, and by lowering the property qualification of voters in the counties.

The importance of this reform bill can hardly be exaggerated. It is the Magna Carta of English political democracy.¹

¹ The reform of the House of Commons gave an impulse to legislation of an humanitarian and popular character. In 1833 an act was passed in the British Commons for the abolition of slavery. Nearly 800,000 slaves, chiefly in the British West Indies, were freed at a cost to the English nation of £20,000,000. This same year (1833) the first effective Factory Act was passed. This was the beginning of a long series of laws which gradually corrected the almost incredible abuses, particularly in connection with the employment of children, which had crept into the English factory system. A similar series of laws regulated labor in the mines. Also this same year Parliament voted an annual grant of £20,000 to aid in the erection of school-houses. This was the first step taken by the English government in the promotion of

17. The Municipal Reform Act of 1835. — The government of the English towns of this period needed reform as urgently as had the British Parliament. This municipal system was a system inherited from the Middle Ages. Most of the towns were ruled by corrupt oligarchies. Long agitation for their overthrow resulted in the passing of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. This act accomplished for the government of the cities what the Reform Bill of 1832 had effected for the general government of the kingdom. It transformed the cities from grotesque, iniquitous oligarchies into something like democracies, wherein the government was in the hands of a mayor and a council elected by the townsmen.

18. Chartism: the Revolutionary Year of 1848. — Although the Reform Bill of 1832 was almost revolutionary in the principle it established, still it went only a little way in the application of that principle. It admitted to the franchise the middle classes only. The great laboring class were given no part in the government. They now began an agitation, characterized by much bitterness, known as Chartism, from a document called the "People's Charter," which embodied the reforms they desired. These were "universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, the division of the country into equal electoral districts, the abolition of the property qualification of members, and payment for their services."

The agitation for these changes in the constitution went on with more or less violence until 1848, in which year, encouraged by the revolutions then shaking almost every throne on the European continent, the Chartists indulged in riotous demonstrations, which frightened the law-abiding citizens and brought discredit upon themselves. Their organization now fell to pieces. The reforms, however, which they had labored to secure, were, in the main, desirable and just, and the most important of them have since been adopted and made a part of the English constitution.

public education. In 1846 England, by the repeal of her "corn laws," abandoned the commercial policy of protection, which favored the great landowners, and adopted that of free trade. The chief advocates of this important measure were Richard Cobden and John Bright. The enactment of the law was hastened by the blight of the potato crop in Ireland and consequent famine in the island.

19. The Reform Bill of 1867 and the Education Act of 1870.

—The Reform Bill of 1867 was simply another step taken by the English government in the direction of the Reform Bill of 1832. Like that measure, it was passed only after long and violent agitation and discussion both without and within the walls of Parliament. The main effect of the bill was the extension of the right of voting, — the enfranchisement of the great “fourth estate.”

As after the Reform Bill of 1832, so now the attention of Parliament was directed to the matter of public instruction; for all recognized that universal education must go along with universal suffrage. Three years after the passage of this second reform bill, Parliament passed an education act (1870) which aimed to provide an elementary education for every child in the British Isles by investing the local authorities with power to establish and maintain schools and compel the attendance of the children.

20. The Reform Bill of 1884. — One of the conservative leaders, the Earl of Derby, in the discussions upon the Reform Bill of 1867, said, “No doubt we are making a great experiment, and taking a leap in the dark.” Just seventeen years after the passage of that bill the English people were ready to take another leap. But they were not now leaping in the dark. The wisdom and safety of admitting the lower classes to a share in the government had been demonstrated.

In 1884 Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, introduced and pushed to a successful vote a new reform bill more radical and sweeping in its provisions than any preceding one. It increased the number of voters from about three millions to five millions. The qualification of voters in the counties was made the same as that required of voters in the boroughs. Hence its effect was to enfranchise the great agricultural classes.

A redistribution bill, which was passed in connection with the reform bill, rearranged the electoral districts in such manner that the Commons should more fairly represent the popular will. The number of members from the boroughs was lessened and the number from the counties increased.

21. The Reform of Rural Local Government. — Parliament and the government of the municipalities were now fairly democratized. The rural districts were the last to feel the influence of the liberal movement that was so profoundly reconstructing in the interest of the masses the governmental institutions of the United Kingdom. But the movement finally reached these, and the work of democratic reconstruction has been rounded out and completed by different acts of Parliament,² which have put more directly into the hands of the people of each of the smaller subdivisions of the realm the management of their local affairs.

22. Only the Forms of Monarchy remain. — The English government in its local as well as in its national branches is now in reality as democratic as our own. Only the forms of the aristocratic monarchy remain. It does not seem possible that these, in spite of the English love of ancient forms, can always withstand the encroachments of democracy. Hereditary right and privilege, as represented by the House of Lords and the Crown, must in time be abolished. Even now whenever the Lords attempt to thwart the will of the Commons there are ominous threats of abolishing the Upper House, as at present constituted. It seems inevitable that these monarchical and aristocratic forms, representing as they do an old order of things, should give way to purely modern democratic institutions; for, as the advocates of popular self-government maintain, the republic is the logical form of the democratic state.

II. EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS EQUALITY

23. Religious Freedom and Religious Equality. — Alongside the political movement traced in the preceding section ran a similar one in the religious realm. This was a growing recognition by the English people of the true principle of religious toleration.

² The most important of these statutes are the Local Government Act of 1888 (for England and Wales), the Local Government Act of 1889 (for Scotland), the Local Government Act of 1898 (for Ireland), and the Parish Council Act of 1894.

At the opening of the nineteenth century there was in England religious freedom, but no religious equality. That is to say, one might be a Catholic or a Protestant dissenter without fear of persecution. Dissent from the Established Church was not unlawful; but one's being a Catholic or a Protestant nonconformist disqualified him from holding certain public offices. Where there exists such discrimination against any religious sect, or where any one sect is favored or sustained by the government, there of course is no religious *equality*, although there may be religious *freedom*.

Progress in this direction, then, will consist in the growth of a really tolerant spirit, which shall lead to the removal of all civil disabilities from Catholics, Protestant dissenters, and Jews, and the placing of all sects on an absolute equality before the law.

24. Methodism and its Effects upon Toleration. — One thing that helped to bring prominently forward the question of emancipating nonconformists from the civil disabilities under which they were placed, was the great religious movement of the eighteenth century known as Methodism. By vastly increasing the body of Protestant dissenters, Methodism gave new strength to the agitation for the repeal of the laws which bore so heavily upon them. So now began a series of legislative acts which made a more and more perfect application of the great principle of religious equality. We shall simply refer to two or three of the most important of these measures.

25. Disabilities removed from Protestant Dissenters (1828). — One of the earliest and most important of the acts of Parliament in this century in recognition of the principle of religious equality was the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, in so far as they bore upon Protestant dissenters. These were acts passed in the reign of Charles II, which required every officer of a corporation, and all persons holding civil and military positions, to take certain oaths and partake of the communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church. It is true that these laws were not now strictly enforced; nevertheless, the laws were invidious and vexatious, and the Protestant dissenters demanded their repeal.

Those opposed to the repeal argued that the principle of religious toleration did not require it. They insisted that, where every one has perfect freedom of worship, it is no infringement of the principle of toleration for the government to refuse to employ as a public servant one who dissents from the State Church. The result of the debate in Parliament was the repeal of such parts of the ancient acts as it was necessary to rescind in order to relieve Protestant dissenters.

26. Disabilities removed from the Catholics (1829). — The bill of 1828 gave no relief to Catholics. They were still excluded from Parliament and various civil offices by the declarations of beliefs and the oaths required of officeholders, — declarations and oaths which no good Catholic could conscientiously make.⁸ They now demanded that the same concessions be made them that had been granted Protestant dissenters.

A threatened revolt on the part of the Irish Catholics hurried through Parliament the progress of what was known as the "Catholic Emancipation Act." This law opened Parliament and all the offices of the kingdom, below the Crown, — save that of Regent, of Lord High Chancellor of England and Ireland, of Lord Deputy of Ireland, and a few others, — to the Catholic subjects of the realm.

27. Disabilities removed from the Jews (1858). — Persons professing the Jewish religion were still laboring under all the disabilities which had now been removed from Protestant dissenters and Catholics. In 1858 an act (Jewish Relief Act) was passed by Parliament which so changed the oath required of a person taking office — the oath contained the words, "Upon the true faith of a Christian" — as to open all public positions, except a few special offices, to persons of the Jewish faith.

28. Disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869). — Forty years after the Catholic Emancipation Act the English government took another great step in the direction of religious equality by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland.

⁸ In England Catholics were excluded from the privilege of voting as well as from the holding of office.

The Irish have always and steadily refused to accept the religion which their English conquerors have somehow felt constrained to try to force upon them. The vast majority of the people are to-day, and ever have been, Catholics; yet up to the time where we have now arrived these Irish Catholics had been compelled to pay tithes and fees for the maintenance among them of the Anglican Church worship. Meanwhile their own churches, in which the great masses were instructed and cared for spiritually, had to be kept up by voluntary contributions.

The rank injustice in thus forcing the Irish Catholics to support a Church in which they not only did not believe but which they regarded with special aversion and hatred as the symbol of their subjection and persecution, was perceived and declaimed against by many among the English Protestants themselves.

The proposal to do away with this grievance by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland was bitterly opposed by the Conservatives, headed by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli; but



FIG. 4. — LORD BEACONSFIELD (DISRAELI), "THE COURTIER PREMIER."
(From the monument in Westminster Abbey)

at length, after a memorable debate, the Liberals, under the lead of Bright and Gladstone, the latter then Prime Minister, carried the measure. This was in 1869, but the actual disestablishment was not to take place until the year 1871, at which time the Irish Church, ceasing to exist as a state institution, became a free

Episcopal Church. The historian May pronounces this "the most important ecclesiastical matter since the Reformation."

29. Proposed Disestablishment of the State Church in England, Scotland, and Wales. — The perfect application of the principle of religious equality demands, in the opinion of many English Liberals, the disestablishment of the State Church in England, Scotland,⁴ and Wales. They feel that for the government to maintain any particular sect is to give the state a monopoly in religion. They would have the churches of all denominations placed on an absolute equality. Especially in Scotland and Wales is the sentiment in favor of disestablishment very strong.

III. ENGLAND'S RELATIONS WITH IRELAND

30. Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland (1800). — The history of Ireland in the nineteenth century, like her history in all preceding centuries, is in the main a story of Irish grievances against England. These grievances have for the most part arisen out of three distinct yet closely related subject-matters, — religion, Home Rule, and the land. Concerning the religious grievances of the Irish and their redress we have already spoken in connection with the general religious emancipation movement in England. For an understanding of the subject of Irish Home Rule a glance backward at Irish parliamentary history is necessary.

Ireland secured legislative independence of England in 1782.⁵ When, a little later, Napoleon came to the head of affairs in France, there was apprehension on the part of English statesmen lest he should utilize Irish discontent to secure a foothold in the

⁴ The Established Church in Scotland is the Presbyterian.

⁵ While the War of American Independence was going on, the Irish, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the English government, demanded legislative independence. Since the Norman period Ireland had had a Parliament of her own, but it was dependent upon the English crown, and at this time was subordinate to the English Parliament, which asserted and exercised the right to bind Ireland by its laws. This the Anglo-Irish patriots strenuously resisted and drew up a Declaration of Rights wherein they demanded the legislative independence of Ireland. Fear of a revolt led England to grant the demands of the patriots and acknowledge the independence of the Irish Parliament.

island. As a measure of precaution the English government resolved to get rid of the Irish Parliament. By wholesale bribery its members were induced to pass a sort of self-denying ordinance whereby the Parliament was abolished, or rather merged with that of Great Britain, Ireland being given representation at Westminster. The two islands were henceforth to bear the name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

31. Agitation for the Repeal of the Union. — The great body of Irish patriots did not at the time of these transactions admit, nor have they at any time since admitted, the validity of the Act of Union whereby their Parliament was taken from them. In the early forties the agitation for the repeal of the Union and the reëstablishment of their native legislature assumed, under the incitement of the eloquence of the Irish patriot Daniel O'Connell, almost the character of a rebellion. Some years later, in the sixties, the agitation was carried to the point of actual insurrection, but the movement was quickly suppressed and its leaders punished.

32. Gladstone and Home Rule for Ireland. — It was not long before the Irish question was again to the front. In 1886 William Ewart Gladstone became for the third time Prime Minister. Almost his first act was the introduction in the Commons of a Home Rule bill for Ireland. The main feature of this measure was an Irish legislature sitting at Dublin, to which was to be intrusted the management of all exclusively Irish affairs.

The chief arguments urged by the opponents of the bill were that an Irish legislature would deal unfairly with English landlords in Ireland, would oppress the Protestant portion of the population, and, above all, in time of national distress would sever Ireland from the British Empire.

After a long debate the bill was rejected by the Commons (1886). Gladstone appealed to the country. The elections resulted in his defeat. Lord Salisbury became the head of the next cabinet.

The agitation for Irish Home Rule, however, went on. In 1892 the elections resulted in bringing Gladstone to the premiership for the fourth time. He now brought in a new Home Rule bill

(1893), which in its essential features was like his first. There followed a long and bitter debate between the partisans of the measure and its opponents. The bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords by an almost unanimous vote.

The following year, owing to the infirmities of advanced age, Gladstone laid down the burdens of the premiership and retired



FIG. 5. — WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE. (After a painting by *Franz von Lenbach*)

from public life. He died in 1898 at the age of eighty-eight, and, amidst unusual demonstrations of national grief, was buried in Westminster Abbey. His name has a sure place among the great names in English history.

33. Irish Local Government Bill (1898). — The cause of Irish Home Rule seemed to have descended into the tomb with

Gladstone. The Conservative ministry of Lord Salisbury, however, in 1898, hoping to satisfy in a measure Irish demands, enacted a law which created local governing bodies in Ireland, like those which had then recently been established in other parts of the United Kingdom (sec. 21).

The Irish had good reason in this matter to fear the Tories bringing gifts. One purpose of the Conservatives in this piece of legislation was "to kill Home Rule with kindness"; that is, by the creation of a number of local councils, to induce the Irish to cease their clamor for a general legislature for Ireland.

But it seems hardly likely that these tardy and partial concessions to the Irish demands for self-government will persuade the Irish to abate their demands for a national Parliament at Dublin, a body that shall truly represent the hopes and aspirations of the Irish people as one of the great nations of the British Empire.

34. Agrarian Troubles and Agrarian Legislation.—It is the opinion of many students of the Irish question that it is at bottom an economic rather than a political one, and that if Irish economic grievances were removed, the Irish would cease to care for Home Rule.

It is certainly true that very much of Irish misery and discontent arises from absentee landlordism. A great part of the soil of Ireland is owned by a few hundred English proprietors, who represent in the main, either as heirs or as purchasers, those English and Scotch settlers to whom the lands confiscated from the natives were given at the time of the Cromwellian and other Protestant "settlements" of the island. Before the recent relief legislation, of which we shall speak directly, it was often the case that the agents of these absentee landlords dealt harshly with their tenants and exacted as rent every penny that could be wrung from their poverty. If a tenant made improvements upon the land he tilled, and by ditching and subduing it increased its productive power, straightway his rent was raised. If he failed to pay the higher rent, he was evicted. The records of "evictions" form a sad chapter in the history of the Irish peasantry.

A long series of Irish land laws marks the efforts of the British Parliament to alleviate the distress of the Irish tenant farmers. In 1903 an Irish land purchase bill, more sweeping and liberal than any preceding measure, was enacted into a law. This law differs from earlier ones in the provision that peasants desiring to buy their holdings shall be aided, not merely by a government loan on long time and low interest, but further by the government itself paying a part of the purchase price. Should this liberal measure be carried into full effect, it would convert nearly half a million of Irish tenants into proprietors and would thus wholly revolutionize the relation of the Irish peasantry to the Irish soil.

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For Irish matters: LECKY, *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v, chaps. xii and xiii, for the legislative union of England and Ireland; *Two Centuries of Irish History, 1691-1870*, by different writers, with an Introduction by James Bryce; DICEY, *England's Case against Home Rule*; MCCARTHY, *Ireland since the Union*; and KING, *The Irish Question*.

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For a general review of the events of the period: MCCARTHY, *History of Our Own Times*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Lord Beaconsfield, the courtier Premier. 2. Gladstone, the Liberal Premier. 3. John Bright, the orator. 4. Daniel O'Connell, the Irish patriot. 5. The potato famine in Ireland. 6. Factory reform.

CHAPTER IV

SPAIN AND THE REVOLT OF HER AMERICAN COLONIES

35. Effects of Napoleon's Invasion of Spain. — The plan of our work permits us to touch upon only those passages in nineteenth-century Spanish history which, through their relation to the French Revolution or to the general democratic movement since 1815, constitute a part of universal history.

The invasion of Spain by Napoleon in 1808, wanton as was this attack upon Spanish nationality, resulted ultimately in the destruction there of the old corrupt, absolute monarchical system. As an outcome of the national uprising against the French invaders, the country received from the Spanish patriot party a charter of liberty known as the Constitution of 1812. The maxims and principles underlying this instrument were like those embodied in the French Constitution of 1791. This marks the beginning of constitutional government in Spain.

36. The Bourbon Restoration and the Revolution of 1820-1823. — The Restoration of 1814 brought back the Bourbons in the person of Ferdinand VII. Ferdinand was an absolutist. Straightway he set about the restoration of the old régime. He abolished the constitution, dissolved the Cortes, or National Assembly, and banished or imprisoned the leaders of the Liberal party. This policy of reaction and repression was met in 1820 by an uprising of the Liberals. The insurgents proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, and forced the king to swear to rule henceforth in accordance with its provisions.

But the absolute sovereigns of Europe would not allow the Spanish people to have a constitutional government. They regarded the setting up of such a system in the peninsula as a menace to their own system of absolutism. They met in

conference,¹ and France was assured of the support of Austria, Russia, and Prussia if she should undertake to suppress the liberal movement. A French army at once crossed the Pyrenees. The constitutional government was overthrown, and Ferdinand was restored to his former authority as an absolute ruler.²

For ten years the old régime was in force in all its rigor. Thousands of Liberals were immured in dungeons or driven into exile. The monasteries, which had been suppressed during the French régime, were reopened. The Inquisition, which had also been abolished, was reëstablished. The people were forbidden to read foreign books, which were presumably filled with the contagion of democratic ideas.

37. The Revolt of Spain's American Colonies. — At the opening of the nineteenth century Spain's system of government in her over-the-sea dependencies was based on the seventeenth-century maxim that colonies exist for the sake of the mother country. The colonists were forbidden to trade with any country save the home land. All the chief offices in State and Church were filled by persons born in Spain; the creoles, that is, Spaniards born in the colonies, were allowed no part in the government. The

¹ During these troubled times the sovereigns of the great powers, either in person or by representatives, met in three celebrated conferences, — the Congress of Troppau (1820), the Congress of Laibach (1821), and the Congress of Verona (1822). It was at the Verona conference that action was taken concerning the state of affairs in Spain. England, jealous of French influence in the peninsula, protested against the proposed intervention, and withdrew from the congress.

² The revolution in Spain incited a like movement in Portugal. It will be recalled that when the French invaded Portugal in 1807 the royal family fled to Brazil. The seat of government was not retransferred to the home country in 1815, but Portugal was governed from Brazil as though it were a dependency of the colony. This situation was naturally displeasing to the people of Portugal. In 1820 the dissatisfaction culminated in a revolution. The insurgents proclaimed a liberal constitution. King John VI, urged to return from Brazil, finally set sail for Portugal. Upon his arrival he was constrained to take an oath to observe the new constitution. Then followed a long troubled period. Only since the middle of the nineteenth century can the country be said to have had anything like a regular constitutional government. Before leaving Brazil King John had appointed his son Dom Pedro as regent. In 1822 the colony declared its independence of Portugal and transformed itself into a constitutional empire with Dom Pedro as Emperor. In 1889 a revolution overturned the empire and drove the imperial family into exile. A republic was then proclaimed under the name of the United States of Brazil.

Indians and half-breeds, who formed the great bulk of the population, were held in a kind of serfdom. Negro slavery prevailed in all the colonies. The Inquisition was maintained in all its rigor. A jealous censorship of the press prevented all free expression of opinion.

This oppressive and arbitrary system of government did not fail to arouse in the colonies a spirit of protest and rebellion. The successful revolt of the English colonies in the North and the French Revolution gave a great impulse to this revolutionary movement in all the Spanish-American countries. The invasion of Spain by the French in 1808 was the signal for insurrection. Taking advantage of the deposition of their king by Napoleon, the colonists rose in revolt, demanding reforms and a share in public affairs. When the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815 Spain had almost suppressed these insurrections against her authority.

Then came the Restoration, which placed the Bourbon Ferdinand VII upon the Spanish throne. Had he made wise concessions to the colonists, they might have been held in their allegiance. Just the opposite course was followed, which resulted in fanning into a fierce flame the smoldering embers of insurrection. The Revolution of 1820 in Spain imparted fresh energy to the outbreak. The aim of the colonists now was not simply a redress of grievances but a severance of all political relations with the mother country.

The details of this war of Spanish colonial independence belong to the special histories of Spain and her colonies. In the next paragraph we shall touch upon only a single international phase of the conflict, which throws a strong side light upon the great struggle at this time going on in Europe between the absolute rulers and the people.

38. The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine. — The principles of absolutism in government having been asserted anew in Spain,⁸ the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance now turned their attention to the New World. They began to discuss the project of aiding Spain to reduce to obedience her rebellious colonies.

⁸ And also in Italy (sec. 43).

These deliberations of the absolute sovereigns mark a critical moment in the history of the New World and of the cause of popular self-government. The threatened interference by the Old World monarchies in New World affairs awakened the apprehension of the government of the United States. John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, declared that "if the Holy Alliance subdues Spanish America, the ultimate result of the undertaking will be not to set up the standard of Spain but to portion out the continent among themselves. Russia might take California, Peru, and Chile, and thus make the Pacific a Russian lake."

Such was the situation when in 1823 President Monroe issued his famous message. After referring to the gloomy outlook for Liberalism in the Old World and to the despotic system of government represented by the Holy Alliance, he said: "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers [the "Holy Allies"], to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

This is the essential part of the celebrated Monroe Doctrine as first formulated. The solemn protest of the United States, supported as it was by the decisive stand of the English government,⁴ did not pass unheeded by the Continental European sovereigns. The contemplated intervention in the affairs of the Spanish colonies did not take place, and the year 1824 saw all the American dependencies of Spain freed from her oppressive yoke. Fifteen independent republics, embracing fifteen millions of her former subjects, arose on the ruins of her empire.

39. End of Absolute Monarchy in Spain; the Republic of 1873-1874. — Spain was a corner of Europe which was not seriously agitated by the upheavals of the revolutionary year 1830. But there was here as elsewhere an increasing demand by the people for a share in the government. It was in recognition of

⁴ The English government disapproved the plan of intervention, partly on account of its dislike of the principles of absolute government and partly on account of English trade interests in the Spanish-American countries.

this growing democratic sentiment that in 1837 the nation was given a revised edition of the Constitution of 1812. This date marks the end of absolute monarchy in Spain.

The matter most worthy of notice in the internal history of Spain as a constitutional state is the establishment in the peninsula of the short-lived Republic of 1873-1874. The leading spirit of this republican movement, and the third President of the commonwealth, was Emilio Castelar, a brilliant orator and a sincere patriot. But the people of Spain were not yet prepared for republican institutions. The republic lasted less than two years. Upon its downfall the monarchy was restored with a liberal constitution.

40. Conclusion. — The century closed in gloom for Spain. In 1898 came the disastrous and humiliating war with the United States, respecting the causes and incidents of which the reader will turn to the later chapters of American history. It will be in place here simply to say that the war resulted in Spain's loss of Cuba and other insular possessions, — almost the last remnants of one of the most extended and magnificent of the colonial empires of modern times.

Selections from the Sources. — HART and CHANNING, *American History Leaflets*, No. 4, "Extracts from Official Declarations of the United States embodying the Monroe Doctrine."

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Monroe Doctrine. 2. Simon Bolivar. 3. Emilio Castelar. 4. Don Carlos and the Carlists.

CHAPTER V

THE LIBERATION AND UNIFICATION OF ITALY

41. Italy at the Downfall of Napoleon. — The Italian peoples, as being the most dangerously infected with the ideas of the Revolution, were, by the reactionary Congress of Vienna, condemned to the most strict and ignominious slavery. The former republics were not allowed to restore their ancient institutions, while the petty principalities were handed over in almost every case to the tyrants or to the heirs of the tyrants who had ruled them before the Revolution.

Austria, as has been stated, appropriated Venetia and Lombardy, and from Northern Italy assumed to direct the affairs of the whole peninsula. "The baton of Metternich," wrote Mazzini, "governs and directs all the petty tyrants of Italy." Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Lucca were given to princes of the House of Hapsburg. Naples was restored to its old Bourbon rulers. The Pope and Victor Emmanuel I, king of Sardinia (Piedmont), were the only native rulers, but they also were absolutists.

The little republic of San Marino, protected by its insignificance, was the only patch of free population left in the entire peninsula. The Italians had become a "Helot nation." Italy, in the words of Metternich, was merely a "geographical expression."

But the Revolution had sown the seeds of liberty, and time only was needed for their maturing. The Cisalpine, Ligurian, Parthenopean, and Tiberine republics, short-lived though they were, had awakened in the people an aspiration for self-government; while Napoleon's kingdom of Italy, though equally delusive, had nevertheless inspired thousands of Italian patriots with the sentiment of national unity. Thus the French Revolution, disappointing as seemed its issue, really imparted to Italy her first impulse in the direction of freedom and national organization.

42. Arbitrary Rule of the Restored Princes. — The setting up of the overturned thrones meant, of course, the reinstating of the old tyrannies. The restored despots came back with an implacable hatred of everything French. The liberal constitutions of the revolutionary period were set aside, and all French institutions that were supposed to tend in the least to Liberalism were swept away.

In Sardinia, King Victor Emmanuel I, the "royal Rip Van Winkle," instituted a most extreme reactionary policy. Nothing that bore the French stamp, nothing that had been set up by French hands, was allowed to remain. The monks were given back their monasteries, which had been converted into factories, colleges, and hospitals. The Jesuits were again placed in control of education. Even the French furniture in the royal palace at Turin was thrown out of the windows, and the French plants in the royal gardens were pulled up root and branch. Travel over the Mont Cenis road, constructed by Napoleon, was discouraged, in order that this monument of French genius might be forgotten.

43. The Carbonari: Uprising of 1820-1821. — The natural result of the arbitrary rule of the restored princes was deep and widespread discontent. An old secret organization, the members of which were known as the *Carbonari* (charcoal burners), formed the nucleus about which gathered the elements of disaffection.

In 1820, incited by the revolution in Spain, the *Carbonari* raised an insurrection in Naples and forced King Ferdinand to grant his Neapolitan subjects the Spanish Constitution of 1812 (sec. 35). But Prince Metternich, who had been watching the doings of the Neapolitans, interfered to mar their plans. He reasoned that Lombardy and Venetia could be kept free from the contagion of Liberalism only by the stamping out of the infection wherever else in Italy it might show itself. Sixty thousand Austrian troops were sent to crush the revolutionary movement, the liberal constitution was suppressed, Ferdinand was reinstated in his former absolute authority, and everything was put back on the old footing.

Meanwhile a similar revolution was running its course in Piedmont, the aim of which was to secure a liberal constitution

for Sardinia and to drive the Austrians out of Lombardy and join it to the Sardinian kingdom. King Victor Emmanuel I, rather than yield to the demands of his people for a constitution, gave up his crown and was succeeded by his brother Charles Felix, a despot by nature, who, by threatening to call to his aid the Austrian army, compelled his subjects to cease their clamor about kings ruling not by the grace of God but by the will of the people.

The suppression of the Liberal uprisings seemed to Metternich the sure pledge of divine favor. He writes exultantly: "I see the dawn of a better day. . . . Heaven seems to will that the world should not be lost."

44. The Revolution of 1830-1831.—For just ten years all Italy lay in sullen vassalage to Austria. Then the revolutionary years of 1830-1831 witnessed a repetition of the scenes of 1820-1821. The revolution in France which placed Louis Philippe upon the French throne sent a tremor of excitement and hope through all Italy. The center of the revolution was the Papal States. The death of the Pope towards the close of the year 1830 appeared to favor the undertaking. In a short time nearly all the territories of the Church were in open revolt, and a resolution of the insurrectionists declared that the temporal rule of the Pope was and by right ought to be forever ended.

But the election of a new Pope, and the presence of Austrian troops, who, "true to their old principle of hurrying with their extinguishers to any spot in Italy where a crater opened," had poured into Central Italy, resulted in the speedy quenching of the flames of the insurrection.

45. The Three Parties.—Twice now had Austrian armies defeated the aspirations of the Italians for national unity and freedom. Italian hatred of these foreign intermeddlers who were causing them to miss their destiny grew ever more intense, and "Death to the Germans!" as the Austrians were called, became the watch cry that united all the peoples of the peninsula.

But while united in their fierce hatred of the Austrians, the Italians were divided in their views respecting the best plan for

national organization. One party wanted a confederation of the various states ; a second party wished to see Italy a constitutional monarchy, with the king of Sardinia at its head ; while still a third, known as "Young Italy," wanted a republic.

46. Joseph Mazzini, the Patriot and Prophet. — The leader of the third or Republican party was the patriot Joseph Mazzini, who played so special a part in the movement for Italy's emancipation and regeneration that we must dwell for a moment upon his personality and work.

Mazzini wished to see Italy freed from foreign domination and the populations of her different provinces united in a strong centralized republic. The means of emancipation and regeneration were to be education and arms.

Mazzini realized that there can be no real and successful Revolution without Renaissance. "Great ideas," he said, "must precede great actions." Hence his aim was to create among the people a new intellectual and moral life. "Tell the people," he said, "of the great past of Italy ; tell them of the advantages of liberty and independence ; tell them what their brothers are doing in France, in Belgium, in Poland, in Hungary. Point to the Alps and cry, 'Those are Italy's true frontiers. Out with the foreigner !'"

Mazzini believed also in the use of bayonets, but only on condition that they have "ideas at their point." Insurrection was to be carried on at first by means of guerrilla bands ; then later with regular armies the people would overturn the thrones of the tyrants and set up the republic.

But Mazzini was not a narrow nationalist. He recognized the universal character of the democratic revolution. The people were oppressed not only in Italy but in Spain, in Portugal, in Hungary, in Poland, in Russia, in Turkey, — almost everywhere, in truth. Their cause was a common cause. In opposition to the Holy Alliance of the princes formed with aim to oppress, there must be a Holy Alliance of the peoples formed with aim to emancipate. The French Revolution, he said, had proclaimed the liberty, equality, and fraternity of individual men ; the new

revolution should proclaim the liberty, equality, and fraternity of nations.

In this great work of the emancipation and unification of the world, Italy was to be head and guide of the nations. To her this post of leadership was assigned by virtue of her leadership in the past. Italy had not yet consumed her life. She had still a third life to live. Once pagan Rome organized and ruled the world. Then papal Rome organized and ruled it for a thousand years. Now a third world union was to be formed, and of this union of the free and federated nations Italy, Italy as a republic, was to be center and head. The first Rome was the Rome of the Cæsars; the second was the Rome of the Popes; the third was to be the Rome of the Italian People.

Such was Mazzini's interpretation of the drama of world history. Such was his splendid ideal. Through kindling the enthusiasm of the Italian youth, awakening the sentiment of patriotism, and keeping alive the spirit of insurrection Mazzini rendered a great service to the cause of Italian liberation and union.

47. The Revolution of 1848-1849. — After the suppression of the uprising of 1830 until the approach of the memorable year 1848, Italy lay restless under the heel of her oppressor. The republican movements throughout Europe which characterized that year of revolutions encouraged the Italian patriots in another attempt to achieve independence and nationality. Everywhere throughout the peninsula they rose against their despotic rulers and forced them to grant constitutions and institute reforms.

The interest of the conflict centered in North Italy. The Sardinian throne at this time was held by Charles Albert, a true-hearted and zealous patriot, who had just granted his people a liberal constitution (1848), — a constitution which was to become the charter of the liberties of united Italy. Taking advantage of the embarrassment of the Austrian government caused by popular uprisings in all parts of its dominions, Charles Albert declared war against Austria, and straightway flung upon her forces in Lombardy the Sardinian army, which had been augmented by volunteers from all parts of Italy. At first he was everywhere successful, and

Lombardy and Venice both placed themselves under his rule ; but finally the veteran Austrian general Radetzky turned the tide of war against him, recovered Lombardy, and, invading Piedmont, inflicted upon the Sardinian army such a defeat (battle of Novara, 1849) that Charles Albert was constrained to resign his crown in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel II, who, he hoped, would be able to secure more advantageous terms from the victorious Austrians than he himself could expect to obtain.

Meanwhile the Romans had risen, proclaimed the Republic, and driven out the Pope, Pius IX. But the new Tiberine Republic was soon overthrown by the troops of the French Republic, just recently set up (sec. 10), and the Pope was reinstated in his authority. This interference by the French in Italian affairs was prompted by their jealousy of Austria and the desire of Louis Napoleon to win the good will of the Catholic clergy in France.

Thus through the intervention of foreigners was the third Italian revolution brought to naught.

48. Victor Emmanuel II, Count Cavour, and Garibaldi. — We have just noticed the accession to the Sardinian throne of Victor Emmanuel II as a constitutional ruler, — the only one remaining in Italy. Austria had tried to get him to repeal the constitution his father had granted, but he had resolutely refused to do so. To him it was that the hopes of the Italian patriots now turned. Nor were these hopes to be disappointed. Victor Emmanuel was the destined liberator of Italy, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that his was the name in which the achievement was to be effected by the wise policy of his great minister Count Cavour and the reckless daring of the national hero Garibaldi.

Count Cavour was the Bismarck of Italy, — one of those great men who during this formative period in the life of the European



FIG. 6. — VICTOR EMMANUEL II. (From an engraving)

peoples have earned the title of Nation Makers. He was lacking in oratorical and poetic gifts. "I cannot make a sonnet," he said, "but I can make Italy," — an utterance suggested doubtless by that of the Athenian statesman (Themistocles) who boasted that though "he knew nothing of music and song, he did know how of a mean city to make a great one." Cavour was the real maker of modern Italy.



FIG. 7. — COUNT CAVOUR
(From an engraving)

Garibaldi, "the hero of the red shirt," the knight-errant of Italian independence, was a most remarkable character. Though yet barely past middle life, he had led a career singularly crowded with varied experiences and romantic adventures. Because of his violent republicanism he had already been twice exiled from Italy.

49. Sardinia in the Crimean War. —

In 1855, in pursuance of a far-sighted policy, Cavour sent a Sardinian contingent of fifteen thousand men to aid England and France against Russia in the Crimean War (sec. 79), with the two chief aims of giving Sardinia a standing among the powers of Europe, and of earning the gratitude of England and France, so that the Italians in their future struggles with Austria might not have to fight their battles alone.

A little incident in the trenches of the allies before Sevastopol shows in what spirit the Sardinians had gone to the war. A soldier, covered with mud and wearied with the everlasting digging, complained to his superior officer. "Never mind," was the consoling reply; "it is with this mud that Italy is to be made."

50. Cavour prepares for War with Austria. — After the Peace of Paris, which closed the Crimean War, Cavour continued the vigorous domestic policy which he had adopted for Sardinia with the aim of developing her material resources and thus preparing her for great exertions. The most notable undertaking which he persuaded the Sardinian government to enter upon was the



tunneling of the Alps beneath Mont Cenis, in order that Sardinia might be brought into commercial intercourse with the north of Europe. "If we are to become great," he said, "we must do this. The Alps must come down."

Another part of Cavour's policy was to cultivate the friendship of the French Emperor Napoleon III. In a secret meeting with the Emperor he received from him a promise that a French army would, when the favorable moment arrived, aid the Sardinians in driving the Austrians out of Italy. In this proffer of help the French Emperor was actuated less by gratitude for the aid of the Sardinian contingent in the Crimean War than by a desire to lessen the power of Austria in Italy and to replace it by French influence, and to secure Savoy and Nice, which were to be France's reward for her intervention in Sardinia's behalf.

51. The Austro-Sardinian War (1859-1860). — The hour for striking another blow for the freedom of Italy had now arrived. Sardinia began to arm. Austria, alarmed at these demonstrations, called upon Sardinia to disarm immediately upon threat of war. Cavour eagerly accepted the challenge.

The French armies were now joined to those of Sardinia. The two great victories of Magenta and Solferino drove the Austrians out of Lombardy and behind the famous Quadrilateral, consisting of four strong fortresses, which sheltered Venetia. Just at this juncture the menacing attitude of Prussia and other German states, which were alarmed at the prospective aggrandizement of France, and the rapid spread of the revolutionary movement in Italy, which foreshadowed the union of all the states of the peninsula in a single kingdom, — something which Louis Napoleon did not wish to see consummated,¹ — this new situation of things, in connection with other considerations, caused the French Emperor to draw back and enter upon negotiations of peace with the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca.

¹ Napoleon III did not wish for a united Italy any more than he wished for a united Germany. His aim was to create a kingdom in Northern Italy which would exclude Austria from the peninsula and then to bring about a confederation of all the Italian states under the presidency of the Pope. Italy thus reconstructed would, be conceived, be fain to look to the French Emperor as her champion and patron.

The outcome was that Austria retained Venice but gave up to Sardinia the larger part of Lombardy. The Sardinians were bitterly disappointed that they did not get Venetia, and loudly accused the French Emperor of having betrayed their cause, since at the outset he had promised them that he would free Italy from the "Alps to the Adriatic."

But Sardinia found compensation for Venice in the accession of Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna, the peoples of which states, having discarded their old rulers, besought Victor Emmanuel to permit them to unite themselves to his kingdom. Thus, as the result of the war, the king of Sardinia had added to his subjects a population of seven millions. A long step had been taken in the way of Italian unity and freedom.

But while the Sardinian kingdom was thus vastly extended to the east and to the south, it was cut away a little on the west. Savoy and Nice, the former "the cradle of the Savoyard House," were given to France, according to previous agreement, as the price of her services.

52. Sicily and Naples, with Umbria and the Marches, added to Victor Emmanuel's Kingdom (1860).—The adventurous daring of the hero Garibaldi now added Sicily and Naples, and indirectly Umbria and the Marches, to the possessions of Victor Emmanuel, and changed the kingdom of Sardinia into the kingdom of Italy.

These momentous events took place under the following circumstances. In 1860 the subjects of the Bourbon Francis II, king of the Two Sicilies, rose in revolt. Victor Emmanuel and his minister Cavour were in sympathy with the movement, yet dared not send the insurgents aid through fear that such action would arouse the jealousy of Austria and of France. But Garibaldi, untrammelled by any such considerations and favored by the connivance of the Sardinian government, having gathered a band of a thousand volunteers, set sail from Genoa for Sicily, where upon landing he assumed the title of Dictator of Sicily for Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, and quickly drove the troops of King Francis out of the island. Then crossing to the mainland,

he marched triumphantly to Naples, whose inhabitants hailed him tumultuously as their deliverer. The friends of Italian unity were beside themselves with joy.

But Garibaldi's rashness was creating a situation which threatened to bring about intervention by France and Austria, and perhaps by other powers. Count Cavour saw that the time had come for the Sardinian government to assume guidance of the revolutionary movement. The papal territories of Umbria and the Marches were accordingly occupied by a Sardinian army, which then marched southward and, by the capture after a long siege of the Neapolitan stronghold of Gaeta, completed the work of the Garibaldian volunteers. Meanwhile, a plebiscite, or popular vote, having been ordered, Umbria, the Marches, Naples, and Sicily voted almost unanimously for annexation to the Sardinian kingdom.

Thus was another long step taken in the unification of Italy. Nine millions more of Italians had become the subjects of Victor Emmanuel. There was now wanting to the complete union of Italy only Venetia and Rome with the lands in the immediate neighborhood of the city, known as the "Patrimony of Saint Peter."



FIG. 8. — GARIBALDI. (From an engraving)

53. Venetia added to the Kingdom (1866). — The Seven Weeks' War (sec. 67), which broke out between Prussia and Austria in 1866, afforded the Italian patriots the opportunity for which they were watching to make Venetia a part of the kingdom of Italy. Victor Emmanuel formed an alliance with the king of Prussia, one of the conditions of which was that no peace should be made with Austria until she had surrendered Venetia to Italy. The speedy issue of the war added the coveted territory to the

dominions of Victor Emmanuel. Rome alone was now lacking to the virtually complete unification of Italy.²

54. Rome becomes the Capital (1870). — After the liberation of Naples and Sicily the city of Turin, the old capital of the Sardinian kingdom, was made the capital of the new kingdom of Italy. In 1865 the seat of government was transferred to Florence; but the Italians looked forward to the time when Rome, the ancient mistress of the peninsula and of the world, should be their capital. The power of the Pope, however, was upheld by the French, who maintained a garrison in the Papal States from 1849 to 1870, and this made it impossible for the Italians to have their will in this matter without a conflict with France.

But events soon gave the coveted capital to the Italian government. In 1870 came the sharp, quick war between France and Prussia, and the French troops at Rome were hastily summoned home. Upon the overthrow of the French monarchy and the establishment of the republic, Victor Emmanuel was informed that France would no longer sustain the papal power. The Italian government at once gave notice to the Pope that Rome would henceforth be considered a portion of the kingdom of Italy, and forthwith an Italian army entered the city, which by a vote of almost a hundred to one³ resolved to cast in its lot with that of the Italian nation.

The family was now complete. Italy was a nation — and the only great nation in Europe “made not by conquest but by consent.” July 2, 1871, Victor Emmanuel himself entered Rome and took up his official residence there. Since then the Eternal City has been the seat of the national government, — the capital of a free and united Italy.⁴

² Some Italian patriots refuse to regard the unification of Italy as complete until Trieste and the Tyrol, together with Malta and Corsica, which provinces and islands are largely Italian in blood and speech, shall have been annexed to the Italian kingdom. To them these essentially Italian lands under foreign rule are “unredeemed Italy” (*Italia irredenta*).

³ Exactly 133,681 to 1507.

⁴ Victor Emmanuel II died in 1878, and his son came to the throne with the title of Humbert I. He was assassinated in 1900, and was succeeded by his only son, Victor Emmanuel III.

55. End of the Temporal Power of the Papacy. — The occupation of Rome by the Italian government marked the end of the temporal power of the Pope, and the end of an ecclesiastical state, the last in Europe, which from long before Charlemagne had held a place among the temporal powers of Europe, and during all that period had been a potent factor in the political affairs not only of Italy but of almost the whole continent. The papal troops, with the exception of a few guardsmen, were disbanded. The Vatican palace and some other buildings with their grounds were reserved to the Pope as a place of residence, together with a yearly allowance of over six million dollars. By a statute known as the Law of the Papal Guarantees (1871), the Pope was secured in the free exercise of his spiritual functions.

These arrangements have subsisted down to the present time. Under them the Pope is not to be regarded as a subject of the Italian government but rather as a sovereign residing at Rome. Like a sovereign he has the right to send and to receive embassies. His person is inviolable. No Italian officer may enter the Vatican or its grounds, which the Italian government respects the same as though they were foreign territory.⁵

56. The Vatican and the Quirinal:⁶ **the Roman Question.** — The popes⁷ have steadily refused to recognize the legitimacy of the act whereby they were deprived of the temporal government of Rome and the Papal States, and have protested against it by refraining from setting foot outside the gardens of the Vatican, by refusing to accept the annuity provided for them, and in various other ways.

⁵ It is a matter worthy of note that just a few months before the loss of his temporal sovereignty a great ecumenical council of the Catholic Church (the Vatican Council of 1869-1870) had by a solemn vote proclaimed the doctrine of papal infallibility, which declares the decisions of the Pope, when speaking *ex cathedra*, "on questions of faith and morals," to be infallible.

⁶ The Palace of the Quirinal at Rome contains the offices of the Italian government, and thus the term *Quirinal* typifies the secular as the term *Vatican* typifies the spiritual power in Italy.

⁷ Pius IX died in 1878 and was followed in the pontificate by Leo XIII, who died July 20, 1903, at the patriarchal age of ninety-three, after having won a place among the greatest and the best of the popes. The College of Cardinals elected as his successor Cardinal Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, who assumed the title of Pius X.

The partisans of the Papacy maintain that the act of dispossession was an act of impious spoliation, and that there can be no settlement of the Roman question save through the restoration of the Pope to his former status as an independent temporal sovereign. They contend that only through the possession of temporal power can the Pope be secure in his independence as



FIG. 9.—POPE PIUS X. (From a photograph)

the spiritual head of Catholic Christendom. They demand, therefore, the retrocession to the holy see of at least the city of Rome, — maintaining that either Turin or Florence or Venice or Naples would serve as well as Rome for the seat of the Italian government.

To these censures and demands of the papal party the friends of the monarchy reply that the extension of the authority of the

Italian government over Rome and the papal territories was justified by the modern principle of nationality, which recognizes in every people the right to choose their form of government and to shape their own destiny.

As to the removal of the seat of the Italian government from Rome to some other city of the peninsula, they maintain that the force of unique historical associations and race traditions and memories make Rome the logical and inevitable capital of a united Italy.

The long and heated controversy has had lamentable consequences for Italy. It has called into existence two bitterly hostile parties; it has hampered the Italian government in many of its policies of reform; and at different times it has even imperiled the very existence of the monarchy.

57. Doubtful National Policies; Reform and Progress. — Other things have concurred with the antagonism between the Vatican and the Quirinal to retard Italy's progress under the new régime. Among these hindrances may be reckoned an ill-advised colonial policy (sec. 95, n. 18) and an unfortunate yet natural ambition to play the rôle of a great European power, both of which have caused the government to neglect domestic concerns and to burden the country with the maintenance of an army and a navy altogether disproportioned to its needs and to its strength.

Yet, notwithstanding these hindrances to national progress, very much has been accomplished since the winning of independence and nationality. Brigandage, an element of the bad heritage from the time of servitude, oppression, and disunion, has been in a great degree suppressed; railways have been built; the Alps have been tunneled; the healthfulness of the Campagna and other districts has been increased by extensive systems of drainage, and regions long given over to desolation have been made habitable and productive; the dense ignorance and the deep moral degradation of the masses, particularly in the southern parts of the peninsula, — another element of the evil inheritance from the past, — have been in a measure overcome and relieved by a public system of education; and Rome has been rebuilt and from the position of a mean provincial town raised to a place among the great capitals of modern Europe.

As to the progress made during the last thirty years in the development of the sentiment of nationality, upon the strength of which depend the peace, permanency, and prosperity of the new kingdom of Italy, a recent disaster furnishes a milestone by which to measure advance. In 1902 the great historic campanile which dominated St. Mark's in Venice fell in a pathetic heap of ruins. Every city of the peninsula, says a chronicler of the event,

mourned just as if the tower had been its own, — “and then they opened a subscription.” Had the catastrophe happened a single generation ago, Venice would have had to restore her own bell tower; but Italy is to-day a Nation, and the misfortune which befalls any Italian city afflicts all alike.

Selections from the Sources. — MAZZINI, *Life and Writings*; should be read by all those whose souls, to use one of Mazzini's own phrases, need to be retempered in abhorrence of tyranny. DELLA ROCCA, *The Autobiography of a Veteran, 1807-1893*; a narrative of simplicity and charm.

Secondary Works. — PROBYN, *Italy: from the Fall of Napoleon I, in 1815, to the year 1890*, and STILLMAN, *The Union of Italy, 1815-1895*. The first of these affords the best short account for young readers; the second is the best for a careful study. MARTINENGO CESARESCO, *The Liberation of Italy, 1815-1870*; also by the same writer, *Cavour*. THAYER, *The Dawn of Italian Independence*. MAZADE, *Life of Cavour*. DICEY, *Victor Emmanuel*. KING, *Mazzini*. VENTURI, *Joseph Mazzini*. GALLENGA, *The Pope and the King; The War between Church and State in Italy*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The little republic of San Marino. 2. Joseph Mazzini. 3. Count Cavour. 4. The Mont Cenis tunnel. 5. The Quirinal and the Vatican.

CHAPTER VI

THE MAKING OF THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

58. Formation of the German Confederation (1815).—The creation of the new German Empire is the most important matter in the political history of Europe since Waterloo. The story of this great achievement affords a most instructive commentary upon the outworkings of the principles of the Revolution, — the principles of popular sovereignty and nationality. It tells how nearly forty autocratically governed and practically sovereign states, German in speech and blood, which had been long separated by the policy of their divine-right rulers or by the circumstances of history, won free institutions and united to form a true German fatherland.

This story, so far as it will be narrated in the present chapter, begins with the Congress of Vienna. That body reorganized Germany as a Confederation, with the Emperor of Austria as President of the league. The union consisted of the Austrian Empire and the four kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg, besides various principalities and free cities, — in all, thirty-nine states. A Diet formed of delegates from the several states, and sitting at Frankfort-on-the-Main, was to settle all questions of dispute arising between members of the Confederation, and to determine matters of general concern. The league was to maintain an army of three hundred thousand men, the commanders of which were to be chosen by the Diet. In all matters concerning itself alone, each state was to retain its independence. It might carry on war with foreign states or enter into alliance with them, but it must do nothing to harm the Confederation or any member of it.

The articles of union, in a spirit of concession to the growing sentiment of the times, provided that all sects of Christians should

enjoy equal toleration, and that every state should establish a representative form of government.

59. Defects and Weaknesses of the Confederation. — The ties uniting the various states of this Confederation could hardly have been more lax. In this respect the league resembled that first formed by the American states under the Articles of Confederation. One chief defect of the constitution of the league lurked in the provisions concerning the Federal Diet. The unwillingness of the several states to surrender any part of their sovereignty had led to the insertion of the rule that no measure of first importance should be adopted by the Diet save by a unanimous vote. The inevitable result of this provision was that no measure of first importance was ever passed by the assembly, which became throughout Europe a byword for hopeless inefficiency.

Another defect in the federal government was that, as in the case of the American Federation, there existed no effective machinery for carrying out the acts of the Federal Diet. These amounted practically to nothing more than recommendations to the rulers of the several states, who paid no heed whatsoever to them unless they chanced to be in line with their own policies or inclinations.

But what contributed more than all else to render the federal scheme wholly unworkable was the presence in the league of two powerful and mutually jealous states, Austria and Prussia, neither of which was willing that the other should have predominance in the affairs of the Confederation.

Of these two rival states Prussia, though at first she yielded nominal precedence to Austria, which had a great past and enjoyed a vast prestige at the European courts, was in reality the stronger and the more promising state. Her strength lay particularly in the essentially German character of her population. Austria was inherently weak because of the mixed non-German character of most of the territories that had been gradually united under the rule of the Hapsburgs. The greater part of their lands lay outside of the German Confederation and contained nearly twenty-five million Slavs, Magyars, Italians, and other non-German subjects.

This difference in the character of the populations of Prussia and the Austrian Empire foreshadowed their divergent destinies, — foreshadowed that Austria should lose and that Prussia should gain the leadership in German affairs.

60. The Dual Movement towards Freedom and Union; Metternich and the Absolutist Reaction. — For a half century after the Congress of Vienna the history of Germany is the history of a dual movement, or perhaps it would be better to say two movements, one democratic and the other national in character. The aim of the first movement was the establishment of representative government in the different states of the Confederation ; the aim of the second was German unity. These movements were essentially the same as those which we have seen creating in the Italian peninsula a free and united Italy. They were to have the same issue here in Germany, — the creation of a free and united German fatherland.

It was the democratic sentiment, the desire for free institutions, which first made itself felt. Several of the princes of the smaller states, in particular of those states along the Rhine which had been most directly under French influence, yielding to the popular demand, granted their subjects constitutions or created representative bodies with limited powers.

Metternich, who controlled the policies of the Austrian government, did not approve of the action of these liberal-minded rulers. He bade them remember that all the terrible trouble in France had begun with the assembling of the States-General, and solemnly adjured them not to commit such an unpardonable error as Louis XVI committed in allowing that body to come together. Several of the princes who had instituted representative government were frightened into withdrawing the constitutions they had granted and were persuaded to return to the safe and tried system of government by the sole will of the sovereign.

61. The Revolutions of 1830; Some Gains for Constitutional Government. — We have seen what were the consequences of the reactionary policy of the Bourbons in France and of the despots in Italy. Events ran exactly the same course in Germany. When

the news of the February Revolution in Paris spread beyond the Rhine, a sympathetic thrill shot through Germany, and in places the Liberal party made threatening demonstrations against their reactionary rulers. In several of the minor states constitutions were granted.

Thus a little was gained for free political institutions, though after the flutter of the revolutionary years the princes again took up their reactionary policy, and under the influence of Metternich did all in their power to check the popular movement and to keep governmental matters out of the hands of the people.

62. Formation of the Customs Union; First Step towards German Unity (1828-1836). — It was just at this revolutionary epoch that the first step was taken in the formation of a real German nation. Under the Act of Confederation of 1815 the members of the Germanic body were situated in respect to interstate trade almost precisely as the American colonies were under the Articles of Confederation of 1781. And as it was the necessity of some general regulations in regard to commerce that impelled the American states to form a closer union, so it was the same necessity which now led the loosely confederated states of Germany to enter into an arrangement known as the *Zollverein*, or Customs Union. This was a sort of commercial treaty binding those states that became parties to it — by the year 1836 almost all the states of the Confederation save Austria had become members of the league — to adopt among themselves the policy of free trade; that is, there were to be no duties levied on goods passing from one state of the Union to another belonging to it.

The greatest good resulting from the Union was that it taught the people to think of a more perfect national union. And as Prussia was the promoter of the trade confederation, it accustomed the smaller states to look to her as their head and chief.

63. The Uprisings of 1848; Further Gains for Constitutional Government. — The history of Germany from the uprising of 1830 to that of 1848 may be summarized by saying that during all these years the people were steadily growing more and more earnest in their demands for liberal forms of government, while

most of the princes, strangely blind to the spirit and tendency of the times, were stubbornly refusing all concessions that should take from them any of their power as absolute rulers. In some instances the constitutions already granted were annulled or their articles were disregarded.

Finally, in 1848, news flew across the Rhine of the uprising in France against the reactionary government of Louis Philippe, and of the establishment by the French people of a new republic. The intelligence kindled a flame of excitement throughout Germany. The Liberals everywhere arose and demanded constitutional government. Almost all the princes of the minor states yielded to the popular clamor and straightway adopted the liberal measures and instituted the reforms demanded. In Austria and Prussia, however, the party of reform carried their point only after demonstrations that issued in bloodshed.

Especially in Austria did affairs at this epoch assume a most threatening aspect.¹ Metternich was obliged to flee the country. He went to England, whither Louis Philippe had just preceded him. The Emperor Ferdinand I abdicated in favor of his nephew Francis Joseph (Dec. 2, 1848), who granted the people a constitution and assented to the calling of a national assembly to be formed of representatives from all his hereditary dominions, chosen by popular vote.²

At the Prussian capital Berlin there was serious fighting in the streets between the people and the soldiers, and the excitement was not quieted until the king, Frederick William IV, assured the people that their demands for constitutional government should be granted. In fulfillment of this promise the king granted a constitution and took an oath to rule in accord with its provisions (Feb. 6, 1850). Prussia thus joined the ranks of constitutional states. This state was now to play in the unification of

¹ The most serious trouble was in Hungary. Led by the distinguished statesman and orator Louis Kossuth, the Hungarians rose in revolt and declared their independence of the Austrian crown (April 14, 1849). They made a noble fight for freedom, but were overpowered by the united Austrian and Russian armies. Kossuth escaped into Turkey. He died in exile at Turin in 1894.

² The Austrian constitution was withdrawn in 1851.

Germany a part like that played by the constitutional state of Piedmont in the unification of Italy. Henceforth Prussian history is German history.³

64. Bismarck, the Unifier of Germany. — In the year 1861 Frederick William IV of Prussia died, and his brother, already an old man of sixty-three, yet destined to be for almost a generation the central figure in the movement for German unity, came to the Prussian throne as William I. He soon called to his side Otto von Bismarck as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Bismarck was one of Germany's greatest sons, — the greatest since Frederick the Great or Luther. He was a man of titanic mold in body and intellect, of imperious will and iron resolution. He was the German Cromwell. His appearance at the head of the Prussian government marks an epoch in history. "With that day," writes Sybel, speaking of Bismarck's accession to power, "a new era did in truth begin for Prussia and Germany and so for Europe."

Bismarck believed that it was Prussia's mission to effect the unification of the German fatherland. This work he was convinced could be accomplished only through the Prussian royal house. Hence he was a royalist, — in truth, almost an absolutist. He believed that to allow the royal power in Prussia to be reduced to the condition of the royal power in England would be to destroy the sole instrument by means of which German unity could be wrought out. This conviction determined Bismarck's attitude towards the Prussian Parliament when it came in conflict with the royal power. He flouted it and trampled it under foot. He was known as the "Parliament tamer." Naturally he was distrusted and hated by the Liberals.

Bismarck saw clearly enough how the vexed question between Austria and Prussia was to be settled, — "by blood and iron."

³ About this same time the growing desire for German nationality expressed itself in an attempt to bind the German states in a closer union by means of a real national parliament to take the place of the inefficient Diet created by the Act of Confederation in 1815. To this end there met in Frankfort, May 18, 1848, a Constituent Assembly, the members of which had been elected in the different states by popular vote, which, like the Constituent Assembly of 1879 in France, was charged with the duty of framing a national constitution for the German states. Nothing was accomplished by the meeting.

Austria's power and influence must be destroyed and she herself forcibly expelled from Germany before the German states could be remolded into a real national union.

65. The Reform of the Prussian Army; Bismarck's Conflict with the Prussian Parliament. — It had been King William's

policy to reform and strengthen the Prussian army. He had selected Bismarck as his prime minister because he knew he would carry out this policy in the face of the opposition of the Prussian House of Representatives. That body would not vote the necessary taxes. Bismarck held that it was their duty to make the necessary appropriations for the army, and when they persisted in withholding grants of money



FIG. 10. — PRINCE BISMARCK
(After a painting by *Franz von Lenbach*)

he, backed by his sovereign and the House of Lords, raised without parliamentary sanction what money he needed for his army reforms.

It was a bold and dangerous procedure, and has been likened to that followed by Charles I and Strafford in England. Fortunately for King William and his imperious minister the policy proved highly successful, issuing in Prussia's predominance in Germany and in German unity, — and the "Parliament tamer" and his master escaped the fate of the English king and his minister.

66. The Schleswig-Holstein War (1864).—The weapon which Bismarck had forged was used in three wars. The first of these was the Schleswig-Holstein War. Holstein was a German duchy held by the Danish king, just as the first sovereigns of the present dynasty in England held Hanover. When, in 1863, Frederick VII of Denmark died, the male line of the royal family became extinct, and it was held by the Germans that now this duchy and also Schleswig—for an old treaty was regarded as having made the duchies inseparable—should become entirely free of the Danish crown, just as Hanover dropped away from England upon the death of William IV and the accession of Victoria in 1837. The dispute soon ripened into war between Austria and Prussia and the new Danish king, Christian IX. Denmark was overpowered and forced to resign her claims to the duchies.

Straightway the duchies became a bone of contention between Austria and Prussia. Bismarck was bent on annexing them to Prussia, since they would be a most valuable possession for her as a prospective sea power, giving her as they would the harbor of Kiel and control of a proposed canal uniting the Baltic and the North Sea. Austria was determined that her rival should not get them unless she received compensation in some form,—a bit of Silesia, and the promise of Prussia's help in case she had difficulty with her troublesome non-German provinces.

There was endless controversy over the matter. Bismarck realized that Prussia could secure the coveted prize only through war with Austria, and to this extreme he was ready to go, since a war would settle not only the question respecting the ownership of the duchies but also the larger question as to Austrian or Prussian predominance in Germany. The hopelessly entangled Gordian knot was to be cut by the sword.

67. The Austro-Prussian or Seven Weeks' War (1866).—Both Austria and Prussia began to arm. Bismarck secured the neutrality of France by permitting Emperor Napoleon to believe that if Prussia secured additional territory by the war, France would be allowed to appropriate Belgium or some Rhenish lands as a compensation.

He also made a ready ally of Italy by engaging that in the event of a successful issue of the war the new Italian kingdom should in return for its alliance receive Venetia (sec. 53). Bids in the form of various proposals and promises were also made by Bismarck for the alliance of the smaller German states ; but almost all ranged themselves on the side of Austria, so that in spite of the Italian alliance it seemed like an unequal contest into which Prussia was venturing, since her population was not more than a third of that of the states which were likely to be arrayed against her.

But Bismarck had been preparing Prussia for the struggle which he had long foreseen, and now the little kingdom, with the best disciplined army in the world, equipped with breech-loading needle guns and headed by the great commander Von Moltke, was to astonish the world by a repetition of her achievements under Frederick the Great.

The war was carried on at once in three quarters,—in the South German states, in the Austrian territory of Bohemia, and in Italy. We need follow only the campaign in Bohemia. Here on the 3d of July, 1866, was fought the great battle of Sadowa, or Königgrätz, in which two hundred and twenty-two thousand Austrians were engaged with two hundred and twenty-one thousand Prussians. This was one of the great and decisive battles of history. It was Austria's Waterloo. The Prussians pushing on towards Vienna, the Emperor Francis Joseph was constrained to sue for peace, and on the 23d of August the Treaty of Prague was signed.⁴

The long debate between Austria and Prussia was over. By the terms of the treaty Austria consented to the dissolution of the old German Confederation and agreed to allow Prussia to reorganize the German states as she might wish. At the same time she surrendered Venetia to the Italian kingdom. The hindrances

⁴ The fear of French intervention hastened the negotiations on the part of the Prussian court. Since Emperor Napoleon as the price of his consent to Italian unity had received Savoy and Nice (sec. 51), so now he thought to wring from Germany some Rhine lands as the price of his consent to German unity.

she had so long placed in the way both of German and of Italian unity were now finally removed.

68. Establishment of the North German Confederation (1867).

— Now quickly followed the reorganization under the presidency of Prussia of the German states north of the Main into what was called the North German Confederation. There were twenty-one states in all, reckoning the three free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. The domains of Prussia were enlarged by the annexation of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, the free city Frankfort, and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. These annexations gave the Prussian king nearly five million new subjects and united into a fairly compact dominion his heretofore severed and scattered territories.

A constitution was adopted which provided that all common concerns should be committed to a Federal Parliament or Diet, the members of the lower house of which were to be chosen by universal suffrage in the different states. The Prussian king was to be the hereditary executive of the Confederation, and the commander-in-chief of all the military forces of the several states.

Thus was a long step taken towards German unity. Bismarck's policy of "blood and iron," though seemingly rough and brutal, now promised to prove a cure indeed for all of Germany's troubles. Though so much had been effected, there was still remaining much to be desired. The states to the south of the Main — Baden, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt — were yet wanting to complete the unification of the fatherland.

A chief obstacle which had prevented the South German states from being brought into the new union was French jealousy. The Emperor Napoleon had insisted that the river Main should form the southern boundary of the Confederation of the North. He had thought that the South German states would form a union among themselves and look to him as their champion against Prussian aggression. Thus he hoped to be able to maintain the traditional position of France as arbiter of German affairs.

69. The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). — The Austro-Prussian War had laid the basis of a Franco-Prussian War. It has just been seen how German unity had come short of complete

accomplishment partly through the officious intermeddling of the Emperor Napoleon. But it was intolerable to German patriots, now that the sentiment of German nationality was growing stronger, that France should be allowed to dictate to Germans respecting their internal affairs, and should stand between them and their national destiny.

On the other hand, it seemed intolerable to the French that a strong German Empire should be allowed to arise right on the frontier of France, and that by this new upstart power France should be shouldered from her historic position as arbiter of Europe. All her old jealous hatred of the House of Hapsburg was now transferred to the rising House of Hohenzollern. France awaited simply a pretext for attacking her new rival and preventing by force the consummation of German unity under Prussian headship.

She had not long to wait. In 1869 the throne of Spain became vacant. It was offered to Leopold, a member of the Hohenzollern family. The Emperor Napoleon III affected to see in this a scheme on the part of the House of Hohenzollern to unite the interests of Prussia and Spain, just as Austria and Spain were united, with such disastrous consequences to the peace of Europe, under the princes of the House of Hapsburg. Even after Leopold, to avoid displeasing France, had declined the proffered crown, the Emperor Napoleon demanded of King William assurance that no member of the House of Hohenzollern should ever with his consent become a candidate for the Spanish throne.

This most unreasonable demand was made of King William by the French ambassador Benedetti at the little watering place of Ems. The king courteously refused the demand and then sent a telegram to Bismarck informing him of what had occurred, at the same time giving him permission to make such use of the message as he saw fit. Bismarck edited the telegram in such a way as to convey the impression that the French ambassador had been brusquely dismissed by King William, and then gave it out for publication. The French people were wild with rage. War was now inevitable.

The important thing to be noted here is the enthusiasm that the war awakened not only throughout the states of the North German Confederation but among the states of the South as well, which placed their armies at the disposal of King William. The cause was looked upon as a national one, and a patriotic fervor stirred the hearts of all Germans alike.⁵

Probably the world had never seen a more perfect instrument of war than Prussia had forged and now launched against France. In the matter of the mobilization and transportation of the troops everything had been thought out and prearranged to the minutest detail. Nothing had been left to chance. Every emergency had been foreseen. It is said that of a hundred and fifty trains, loaded with a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, dispatched to the French frontier, not one was a minute late. This was in striking contrast to the state of unreadiness and confusion on the French side, where regiments were sent forward without their arms, and bewildered generals were telegraphing hither and thither in a frenzied search for their lost commands.⁶

70. The Proclamation of the New German Empire (1871).—The astonishing successes of the German armies on French soil (sec. 11) created among Germans everywhere such patriotic pride in the fatherland that all the obstacles which had hitherto prevented anything more than a partial union of the members of the Germanic body were now swept out of the way by an irresistible tide of national sentiment.

⁵ Bismarck had made public Napoleon's request for Hesse and Rhenish Bavaria at the time of the Austro-Prussian War. These revelations had created a tremendous sentiment against France throughout Germany.

⁶ There was a deep underlying cause of the superiority of the German army over the French which is worth noting. In the dark days which followed the battle of Jena in the time of the first Napoleon, the statesmen intrusted with devising means for Prussia's regeneration turned to education as the surest agency for the quickening and strengthening of the Prussian nation. It was her system of education, quite as much as her system of universal military service, which had given Prussia her strength and which was now leading her to these high places. It is told how the Prussian soldiers on the way to Sadowa relieved the tedium of the march by discussing the Dialogues of Plato; and how in 1870 these same student soldiers, with philological leanings, found amusement in publishing a favorite song in thirty-two different languages. Beyond question these Prussian bayonets met Mazzini's requirement for bayonets, — that they should have ideas at their point.

While the siege of Paris was progressing, commissioners were sent by the southern states to Versailles, the headquarters of King William, to represent to him that they were ready and anxious to enter the North German union. Thus in rapid succession Baden,

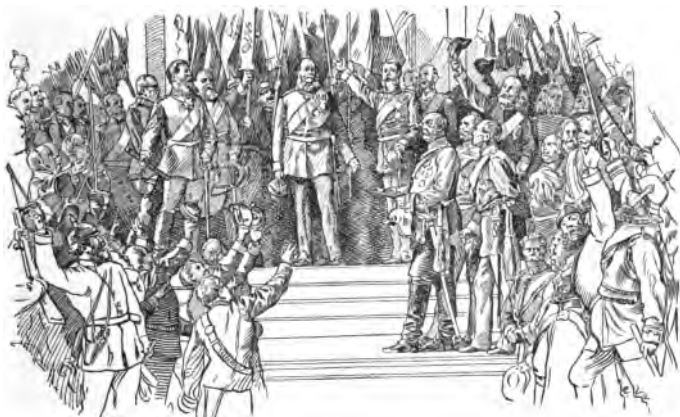


FIG. 11. — PROCLAMATION OF KING WILLIAM AS EMPEROR OF GERMANY AT VERSAILLES, JANUARY, 1871. (After a painting by *Anton von Werner*, Prussian court painter)

Hesse, Würtemberg, and Bavaria were received into the Confederation, the name of which was now changed to that of the German Confederation.

Scarcely was this accomplished when, upon the suggestion of the king of Bavaria, — who had been coached by Bismarck, — King William, who now bore the title of *President* of the Confederation, was given the title of *German Emperor*, which honor was to be hereditary in his family. On the 18th of January, 1871, within the palace of Versailles, — the siege of Paris being still in progress, — amidst indescribable enthusiasm the imperial dignity was formally conferred upon King William, and Germany became a constitutional Empire.⁷

⁷ The new German Empire constitutes a federal state belonging to the same class of political organizations as the United States, Switzerland, Canada, and the newly formed Australian Commonwealth. Aside from the monarchical hereditary character of the federal executive and of the executive of each of the various principalities, it

Thus amidst the throes of war the free German nation was born. The German people, after long centuries of division and servitude, had at last found freedom and unity.⁸

71. The Cession to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine. — The essential provisions of the treaty between France and Germany have already been given (sec. 11). The cession to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine is the only matter connected with these momentous transactions upon which space will allow us here to comment anew.

In insisting upon the surrender of these provinces, which were and which still remain passionately French in sympathy and sentiment, although only partly French in blood, Bismarck has been severely censured, since this seems a gross violation of the modern principle of nationality, particularly as the inhabitants of the ceded territories were not allowed to have any voice in the question of their transference. But Bismarck reasoned that moral guarantees, such as French gratitude for lenient treatment after defeat, would prove worthless; that French wounded vanity would impel France again to attack Germany when a favorable opportunity occurred, and that consequently Germany must have material guarantees. "These guarantees," said Bismarck, "we can secure only by pushing the frontier, the starting point of French attacks, farther back to the West, and causing those fortresses which have hitherto threatened us to be placed as defensive bulwarks in the hands of Germany."

72. Later Events. — For nearly twenty years after the close of the Franco-Prussian War the policy of the new Empire was directed by Bismarck as the first Imperial Chancellor. We can

differs from our Union in there being no sort of equality in size between the states constituting the Empire, Prussia exceeding in population all the other states of the union taken together. (According to the census of 1900 the population of Prussia was 34,472,509; that of all the other states, including Alsace-Lorraine, was 21,894,669.) Again, it differs from our federal system by leaving to the different states in large measure the carrying out of the federal laws.

⁸ There is, however, something lacking in the union. There are nine million persons of German speech and German blood in the Austrian Empire. Whether these Germans shall ever come to form part of the German nation remains for the future to determine.







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here indicate only two or three of the most noteworthy matters belonging to this period of the great Chancellor's rule.

Special interest attaches to the so-called *Kulturkampf*, which was a long, bitter struggle carried on by Bismarck with the Roman see. The papal party was hostile to the new German Empire because it gave predominance in Germany to Protestant Prussia. Very soon there was open conflict between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. Bismarck secured the passage of laws, both by the imperial and the Prussian Parliament, in restraint of the power of the Catholic clergy. The Pope declared the laws null and void. The fight grew in bitterness and recalled to mind the struggle between Pope Gregory VII and the Emperor Henry IV. Bismarck declared, "We shall not go to Canossa." But he did go, at least part way, for in order to secure Catholic support for certain of his policies, he entered into a compromise with the Papacy, and the strife between State and Church was finally stilled (1887).

In his foreign policy Bismarck's greatest achievement was the formation of what is known as the Triple Alliance (*Dreibund*) between the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, and Italy (1882). The chief objects of the Triple Alliance were to curb Russia's ambition in the Balkans and to hold France back from a war of revenge against Germany. Without doubt this league has been one of the most potent factors making for the peace of Europe during the last two decades.

In 1888 Emperor William I died at the venerable age of ninety-one. His death moved profoundly the German nation. His reign had covered great years in German story, and he had gone with his people through many of the most momentous passages in their history.

William I was followed by his son Frederick, who at the time of his accession was suffering from a fatal malady. He died after a short reign of three months, and his son came to the throne as Emperor William II (1888).

It was generally thought that the young sovereign would be completely under the influence of Bismarck; but soon the

Emperor disclosed a very imperious will of his own. His relations with Bismarck became strained, and the aged Chancellor was brusquely dismissed (March 18, 1890). Many felt that the youthful Emperor had treated the creator of the Empire and the



FIG. 12. — EMPEROR WILLIAM II
(From a photograph)

maker of the imperial fortunes of the House of Hohenzollern with gross ingratitude. On the other hand, the friends of the Emperor liken Bismarck to Wallenstein, and accuse him of "aiming at something like sovereign sway in a province appertaining to the Emperor."⁹

The young Emperor's rule since his dismissal of Bismarck has been a very personal one. He would have made an ideal divine-right king in those halcyon days for autocratic rulers when there were no representative assemblies.

The remarkable growth, in spite of the opposition of the Emperor, of the party known as the Social Democrats, who advocate an extreme programme of social and industrial reform, is one of the most noteworthy facts connected with the domestic history of the Empire.¹⁰

⁹ In his retirement at Friedrichsruh, an estate which was a gift to him from the grateful Emperor William I, Bismarck played the part of a "German Prometheus." He hurled defiance at all his enemies and did not scruple to subject the policies of the Emperor and his ministers to the most caustic criticism. The ex-Chancellor died in 1898, being then in his eighty-fourth year.

¹⁰ In 1871 this party cast a vote of about 124,000; in 1903 its vote reached the surprising figure of over 2,911,000, more than a third of the total vote cast. This registered it as the second strongest party in the Empire.

Selections from the Sources. — *Translations and Reprints*, vol. i, No. 3, for "The Act of Confederation" and other documents (ed. by James Harvey Robinson). *Bismarck, the Man and the Statesman* (being Reflections and Reminiscences of Otto Prince von Bismarck, written and dictated by himself after his retirement from office; ed. by A. J. Butler). MOLTKE, *The Franco-German War, 1870-1871* (trans. by A. Forbes).

Secondary Works. — SYBEL, *The Founding of the German Empire*. ANDREWS, *The Historical Development of Modern Europe*, vol. i, chaps. vi, ix, and x; and vol. ii, chaps. v and vi. HENDERSON, *A Short History of Germany*, vol. ii, chaps. viii-x. LOWE, *Prince Bismarck*. HEADLAM, *Bismarck and the Founding of the German Empire*. LOWE, *The German Emperor William II*. BUSCH, *Our Chancellor*. LOWELL, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, vol. i, chaps. v and vi; and vol. ii, chap. vii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Carlsbad Decrees. 2. Louis Kossuth and the Hungarian Revolt (1848). 3. Prince Bismarck as "Parliament tamer." 4. Prince Leopold and the Spanish crown. 5. The *Kulturkampf*. 6. The Triple Alliance.

CHAPTER VII

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AFTER 1866

73. The Reorganization of the Austrian Empire after Sadowa ; the Compromise between Austria and Hungary. — The disaster of Sadowa did for Austria what the disaster of Jena did for Prussia, — it brought about its political and social regeneration.

Chastened by the bitter humiliation and realizing that the maintenance of the old traditional system of absolute government was henceforth impossible, the Emperor Francis Joseph was now ready to make concessions to the national aspirations of the Magyars, and to yield to the growing demands of his subjects for liberal reforms and constitutional government. Soon after Sadowa he called to his aid the able Saxon statesman Count Beust and gave into his hands the task of reorganizing the shattered empire, just as after Jena King Frederick William of Prussia intrusted to Baron vom Stein the readjustment of Prussian affairs.

The first step and the most important one in the process of reorganization was the recognition by the Austrian court of the claims of the Magyars to the right of equality in the monarchy with the hitherto dominant German race. By an agreement known as the *Ausgleich*, or Compromise, the relations of Austria and Hungary in the reconstituted state were defined and regulated. It provided for the division of the old empire into two parts, now designated as the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian kingdom.¹ Each state was to have its own parliament, the one sitting at Vienna and the other at Budapest, and each was to have complete control of its own internal affairs. Neither was to have the least precedence over the other.

The common interests of the two states — those embracing foreign affairs, the army, and finances — were to be regulated by

¹ The official designation of the dual state is the *Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*.

a third peculiar parliament, the so-called "Delegations," composed of sixty delegates from each of the other two parliaments. The hereditary head of the Austrian state was to be also the constitutional king of Hungary.

This celebrated compact was duly ratified by the parliaments of Hungary and Austria, and the long struggle between the Magyars and the House of Hapsburg was at an end. The Hungarian constitution was restored, and the same year (1867) the western half of the monarchy was also given a liberal constitution, and Austria-Hungary now definitely entered the ranks of constitutional states.

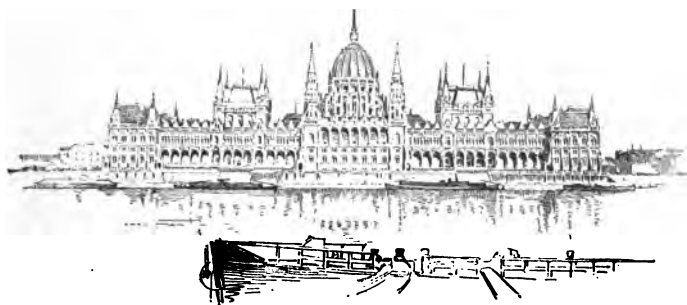


FIG. 13.—THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING AT BUDAPEST
(From a photograph)

74. The Dependent Races in the Monarchy; Federalism versus Dualism. — The Compromise of 1867 thus reconstructed the old Austrian Empire as a dual monarchy, with the Germans as the ruling race in the western half of the state, and with the Magyars as the ruling race in the eastern half. It made no recognition whatsoever of the historic rights and liberties of the other races or nationalities of the monarchy, of which there are many. That is hardly a figure of speech which describes the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a "European Tower of Babel." In the Austrian Parliament the oath is administered to the members in eight different languages.

Now in the eastern half of the monarchy the Magyars, who form only a minority of the population of the Hungarian

kingdom,² but who, like the English, are a people of extraordinary energy and of great pride of race, are holding practically all the non-Magyar races of the kingdom in just such political serfdom as they themselves were subjected to before their emancipation by the events of 1866-1867.

It is the same in the other half of the monarchy. There a German minority³ is holding the Czechs in Bohemia and the Poles in Galicia in a state of subjection similar to that in which the Magyars are holding the non-Magyar races of Hungary.

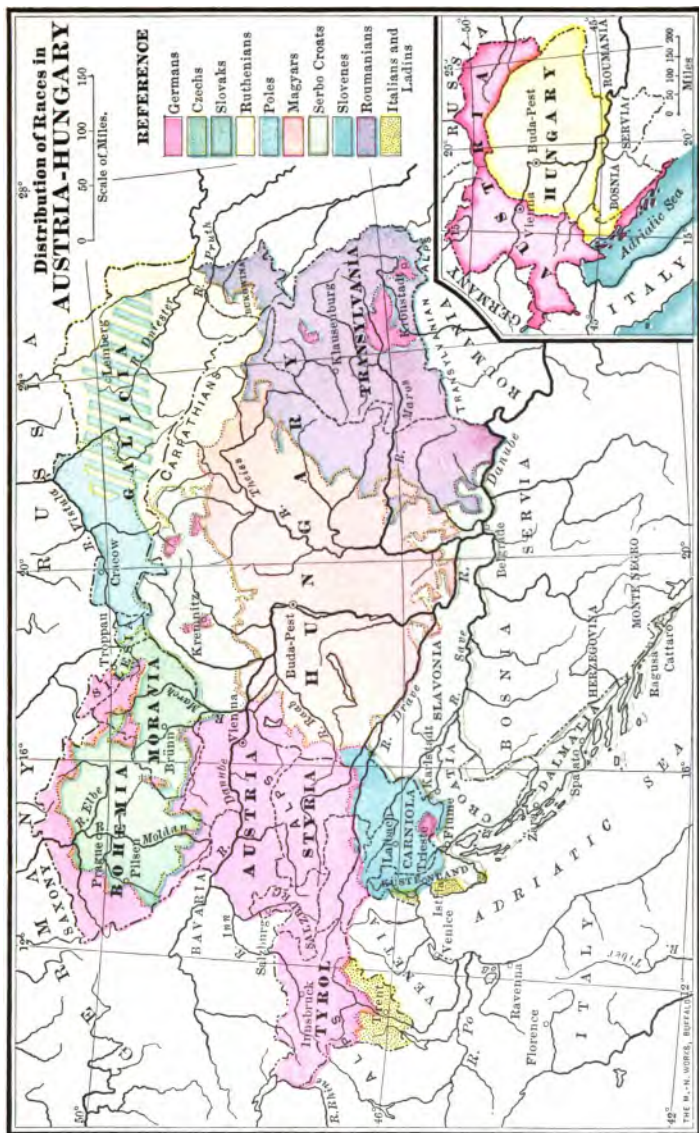
Now these dependent nationalities claim that they have as good a right to self-government as have either the Germans or the Magyars. The relations of Ireland to England, and the resulting agitation on the part of the Irish people for Home Rule, will convey some idea of the situation of things in the dual monarchy, and of the turbulence created in the state by the struggles of these subject races for autonomy. In short, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has three or four Irish problems.

It would seem that these contentions must end either in the disruption of the monarchy, or in the recognition by the two dominant races of the justice of the claims of these dependent peoples, and the conversion of the dual monarchy into a federal union composed of as many states as there are different nations or well-defined ethnic groups composing the population of the monarchy. At the present time (1906) the strongest bond uniting the different races of the monarchy is the great popularity of the reigning sovereign. The Emperor Francis Joseph has endeared himself in a remarkable degree to his people, and so long as he lives his personal ascendancy, in spite of the present strained relations between him and his Magyar subjects, will doubtless insure the integrity of the monarchy.

75. The International Phase of Austro-Hungarian Questions. — The affairs of Austria-Hungary are almost as much a matter of

² The census of 1900 gives the total number of inhabitants of Hungary as 19,254,559, of whom only 7,426,730 are returned as being of Hungarian race.

³ The total population of Austria according to the census of 1900 was 26,150,708; the number of Germans, 9,170,939.



European concern as are those of the Ottoman Empire. This is so for the reason that most of the ethnic groups within the monarchy, with the exception of the Magyars, who constitute a compact and complete nation, are merely detached areas of larger bodies of kindred peoples in adjoining lands, and that there is a tendency in these small groups to gravitate towards the larger masses of their kindred in these neighboring countries. Thus the Austrian Germans are drawn towards the new German Empire ; the Italians in Trieste and the Tyrol towards the Italian kingdom ; the Rumanians of Transylvania towards the principality of Rumania ; the Slavs of the South towards the Balkan Slav states, and the Slavs of the North, in times of special discontent, towards Russia. Or perhaps it would be more exact to say that these neighboring states covet these Austro-Hungarian lands of kindred race and await an opportunity to annex them. Hence they are all deeply interested in everything that concerns the stability or lack of stability of the polyglot monarchy.

Selection from the Sources. — BEUST (COUNT VON), *Memoirs*. Count Beust was not only the reorganizer of the Austrian Empire but also the inspirer of many of those liberal reforms which after 1867 gave a new and modern aspect to the political, social, and intellectual life of Austria. His *Memoirs* possess a deep interest for the student of the history of the transition from the Austria of Metternich to the Austria of to-day.

Secondary Works. — LEGER, *A History of Austro-Hungary*, chaps. xxxv-xxxviii. LOWELL, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, vol. ii, chaps. viii-x. ANDREWS, *The Historical Development of Modern Europe*, vol. ii, chaps. vii and xii.

Topics for Class Reports. — At this point it would be well for the teacher to assign as subjects for special study the minor European states, any account of which the limitations of space have excluded from the text. In such assignments the following states should find a place: 1. Greece. 2. The Balkan States. 3. Switzerland. 4. The Scandinavian countries. 5. Belgium. 6. The United Netherlands.

CHAPTER VIII

RUSSIA SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

76. The Tsar Alexander I as a Liberal and as a Reactionist. — During the earlier years of his reign the Tsar Alexander I (1801–1825) was a zealous advocate of certain liberal ideas. It was due largely to his influence that the French secured a constitution upon the restoration of the Bourbons. He introduced many beneficent reforms into Russia, and even encouraged his subjects to hope that they should have a constitution which would give them part in the government.

But conspiracies among his own subjects and the popular uprisings throughout Europe all tended to create in the Tsar a revulsion of feeling. From an ardent apostle of liberal ideas he was transformed into a violent absolutist, and spent all his latter years in aiding the despotic rulers of Spain, Italy, and Germany to repress every movement among their subjects for political freedom.

77. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829. — Alexander was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I (1825–1855), who, carrying out the later policy of his predecessor, strove to shut out from his empire every liberalizing influence of Western Europe.

In 1828, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the Sultan through a stubborn insurrection in Greece,¹ Nicholas declared war against the Ottoman Porte. The Russian troops crossed the Balkans without serious opposition, and were marching upon

¹ This was the struggle known as the War of Greek Independence (1821–1829). This war was a phase of the liberal and national movement which in the revolutionary year of 1821 agitated the Italian and Iberian peninsulas. Lord Byron devoted his life and fortune to the cause of Greek freedom. He died of fever at the siege of Missolonghi (1824). England, France, and Russia finally intervened. The Turko-Egyptian fleet was destroyed by the fleets of the allies in the bay of Navarino (1827). The year after this event began the Russian campaign in the Danubian provinces, as narrated in the text.

Constantinople when the Sultan sued for peace. The Treaty of Adrianople brought the war to a close (1829).

Tsar Nicholas restored his conquests in Europe, but held some provinces in Asia which gave him control of the eastern shore of the Euxine. The Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were rendered virtually independent of the Sultan. All Greece south of Thessaly and Epirus was liberated, and along with most of the islands of the *Ægean* was formed into an independent kingdom under the joint guardianship of England, France, and Russia. Prince Otto of Bavaria accepted the crown, and became the first king of the little Hellenic state² (1832).

78. The Polish Revolt (1830-1832).—In accordance with a mandate of the Congress of Vienna, Poland was reëstablished as a constitutional kingdom dependent upon Russia in some such way as Ireland was subject to England previous to the Union in 1801. But the rule of the Tsar over the Poles was tyrannical, and they were impatient of an opportunity to throw off the Russian yoke. The revolutionary movements of the year 1830 sent a wave of hope through Poland; the people arose and drove out the Russian garrisons. The armies of the Tsar, however, were quickly on the spot, and before the close of the year 1831 the Polish patriots were once more under the foot of their Russian master.

It was a hard fate that awaited the unhappy nation. Their constitution was taken away and Poland was made a mere province of the Russian Empire (1832). Multitudes were banished to Siberia, while thousands more sought an asylum in England, America, and other countries. Of all the peoples that rose for

² In 1864 the little kingdom was enlarged through the cession to it of the Ionian Islands by England, in whose hands they had been since the Congress of Vienna. In 1881 it received Thessaly and a part of Epirus by cession from Turkey, but in 1897, as the result of an unfortunate war with the Sultan, was forced to accede to a treaty which gave back to the Ottoman Porte a strip of Northern Thessaly. Under the régime of freedom substantial progress has been made. The population of the little kingdom rose from 612,000 in 1832 to 2,433,806 in 1896. Industry, trade, and commerce have revived. The Isthmus of Corinth has been pierced by a canal. Railroads have been built. Athens has taken on the appearance of a modern capital. Its university has an attendance of between two and three thousand students,—a good omen for the future.

freedom in 1830, none suffered so cruel and complete an extinguishment of their hopes as did the patriot Poles.³

79. The Crimean War (1853-1856).—A celebrated parable employed by the Tsar Nicholas in conversation with the English minister at St. Petersburg throws a good deal of light upon the circumstances that led to the Crimean War. "We have on our hands," said the Tsar, "a sick man, — a very sick man; it would be a great misfortune if he should give us the slip some of these days, especially if it happened before all the necessary arrangements were made."

Nicholas had cultivated friendly relations with the English government, and he now proposed that England and Russia should divide the estate of the "sick man," by which phrase Turkey of course was meant. England was to be allowed to take Egypt and Crete, while the Turkish provinces in Europe were to be taken under the protection of the Tsar, which meant of course the complete absorption, in due time, of all Southeastern Europe into the Russian Empire.

A pretense for hastening the dissolution of the "sick man" was not long wanting. A quarrel between the Greek and Latin Christians at Jerusalem about the holy places was made the ground by Nicholas for demanding of the Sultan the admission and recognition of a Russian protectorate over all Greek Christians in the Ottoman dominions. The demand was rejected, and Nicholas prepared for war. The Sultan appealed to the Western powers for help. England and France responded to the appeal, and later Sardinia joined her forces to theirs (sec. 49).

England fought to prevent Russia from getting through the Bosphorus to the Mediterranean and thus endangering her route to her Eastern possessions. The French Emperor acted under a variety of motives, — a friendly feeling towards England, a desire to avenge Moscow, and a wish to render his recently established imperial throne attractive to the French people by surrounding it with the glamour of successful war.

³ For Russia's part in the affairs of the revolutionary years 1848-1849, see sec. 63, n. 1.

The main interest of the struggle centered about Sevastopol, in the Crimea, Russia's great naval and military depot in the Euxine. The siege of this place, which lasted eleven months, was one of the most memorable in history. The Russian general Todleben earned a great fame through his masterly defense of the works. The English "Light Brigade" earned immortality in its memorable charge at Balaklava. The French troops, through their dashing bravery, brought great fame to the Emperor who had sent them to gather glory for his throne.

The Russians were at length forced to evacuate their stronghold. The war was now soon brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris (March 30, 1856). The keynote of this treaty was the maintenance in its integrity of the Ottoman Empire as a barrier against Muscovite encroachments. Russia was given back Sevastopol, but was required to surrender some territory at the mouth of the Danube; to abandon all claims to a protectorate over any of the subjects of the Porte; and to agree not to raise any more fortresses on the Euxine nor keep upon that sea any armed ships, save what might be needed for police service.⁴

80. Emancipation of the Russian Serfs (1861).—The name of Tsar Alexander II (1855–1881) will live in history as the Emancipator of the forty-six millions of Russian serfs. In order to render intelligible what emancipation meant for the serfs, a word is needed respecting the former land system in Russia and the personal status of the serf.

As to the first, the estate of the lord was divided into two parts, the smaller of which was reserved by the proprietor for his own use, the larger being allotted to his serfs, who formed a village community known as the *Mir*.⁵

⁴ Russia repudiated this article of the treaty during the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. She has restored Sevastopol and its fortresses and is now maintaining a strong fleet of war ships on the Black Sea.

⁵ This social and economic group affords the key to much of the history of the Russian people. It is the Russian counterpart of the village of serfs on the mediæval manor of Western Europe. It is a cluster of a dozen or perhaps a hundred families, — a clan settled down to agricultural life. At the time of Peter the Great ninety-nine out of every hundred Russians were members of *Mirs*. To-day about nine tenths of the people live in these little villages.

Besides working the village lands, the fruits of which were enjoyed by the serfs, the villagers were obliged to till the lands of the lord, three days in a week being the usual service required. The serfs were personally subject to the lord to the extent that he might flog them in case of disobedience, but he could not sell them individually as slaves are sold; yet when he sold his estate the whole community of serfs passed with it to the new proprietor.

The Emancipation Code, "the Magna Carta of the Russian peasant," which was promulgated in 1861, required the masters of the peasant serfs to give them the lands they had farmed for themselves, for which, however, they were to make some fixed return in labor or rent.⁶ The lands thus acquired became the common property of the village. All other serfs, such as house servants and operatives in factories, were to gain their freedom at the end of two years' additional service, during which time, however, they were to receive fair wages.

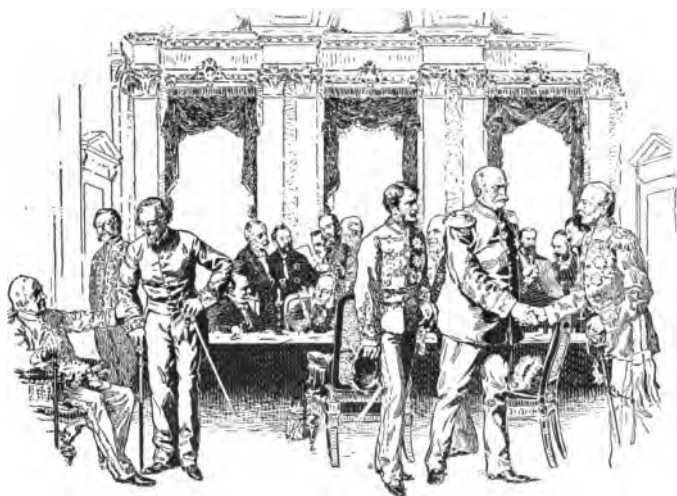
As in the case of the emancipation of the slaves in our Southern States, the emancipation of the Russian serfs has not met all the hopeful expectations of the friends of the reform. One cause of the unsatisfactory outcome of the measure is that the villagers did not get enough land, save in those districts where the earth is very rich, to enable them to support themselves by its tillage. Hence many of them have fallen into debt and become the victims of heartless usurers.

81. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878; the Treaty of Berlin; the Dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. — Anxiously as the Treaty of Paris had provided for the permanent settlement of the Eastern Question, barely twenty-two years had passed before it was again up before Europe, and Russia and Turkey were again in arms. The Sultan could not or would not give his Christian subjects that protection which he had solemnly promised should be given. In 1875 the Greek Christian population of

⁶ The serfs on the crown lands, about 23,000,000 in number, had already been freed by special edicts (the first issued in July, 1858). They were given at once, without any return being exacted, the lands they had so long tilled as nominal bondsmen. We say *nominal* bondsmen, since this class labored under only a few restrictions and were subject to the payment merely of a light rent.

Herzegovina and Bosnia, European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, goaded to desperation by the oppression of Turkish taxgatherers, rose in revolt. Then the Bulgarians also rose. The Turkish measures of repression resulted in what are known as the "Bulgarian atrocities," — massacres of Christian men, women, and children more revolting perhaps than any others of which history tells.

Fierce indignation was kindled throughout Europe. Serbia and Montenegro declared war. The Russian armies were set in motion. Kars in Asia Minor and Plevna in European Turkey, the



Gortchakoff Disraeli Andrassy Bismarck Schwaloff

FIG. 14. — THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN. (After a painting by *Anton von Werner*, Prussian court painter)

latter after a memorable siege, fell into the hands of the Russians, and the armies of the Tsar were once more in full march upon Constantinople, with the prospect of soon ending forever Turkish rule on European soil, when England intervened, sent her fleet through the Dardanelles, and arrested the triumphant march of the Russians.

The Treaty of Berlin⁷ (1878) adjusted once more the disorganized affairs of the Sublime Porte and bolstered up the "sick man" as well as was possible. But he lost a good part of his estate, for even his friends had no longer any hope either of his recovery or of his reformation. Out of those provinces of his dominions in Europe in which the Christian population was most numerous, there was created a group of wholly independent or half-independent states.⁸ The northern frontier of the Ottoman Empire in Europe was thus pushed back to the Balkans. Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to Austria-Hungary to administer, but were not actually severed from the Ottoman Empire.

The island of Cyprus, by a secret arrangement between the Ottoman Porte and the English government, was ceded to England "to be occupied and administered." In return England guaranteed the integrity of the Sultan's possessions in Asia.

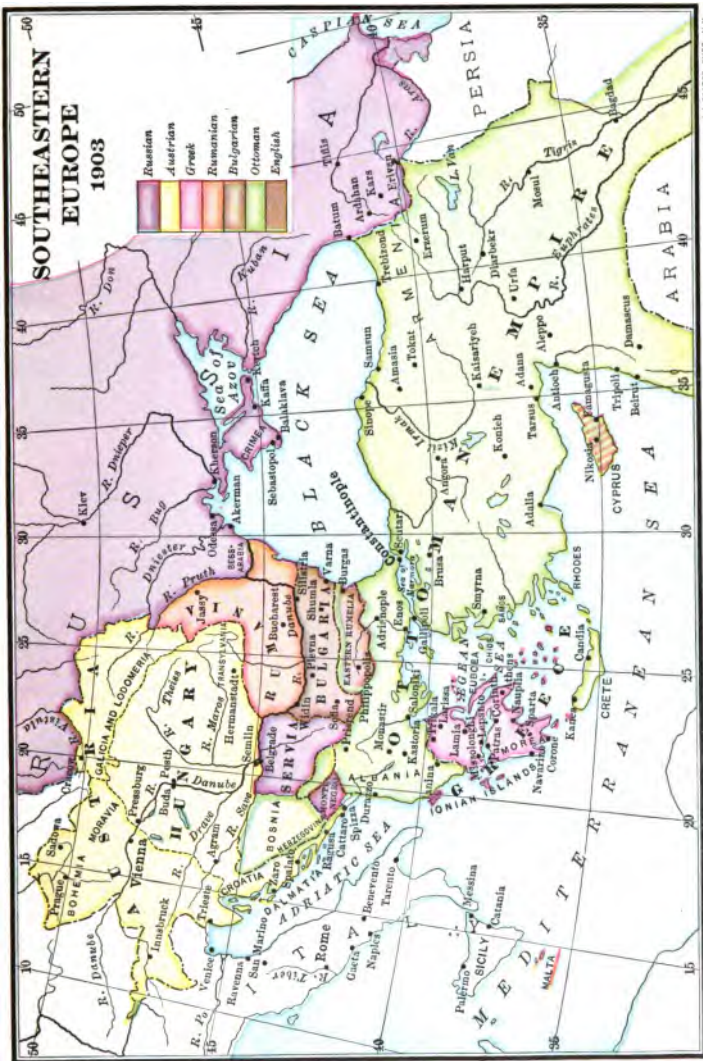
Russia acquired some places in Armenia, which gave her fuller control of the eastern shores of the Euxine, and also received Bessarabia on the Lower Danube, which territory she had been forced to give up at the close of the Crimean War. In a word, Russia regained everything she had lost in that struggle, while Turkey was shorn of half her European possessions. There were left in Europe under the direct authority of the Sultan barely five million subjects, of which number about one half are Christians.⁹

⁷ In this treaty the great powers revised the Treaty of San Stefano which Russia had concluded with Turkey, and which practically expelled the Ottoman Porte from Europe.

⁸ The absolute independence of Rumania (the ancient provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia), Serbia, and Montenegro was formally acknowledged; Bulgaria, north of the Balkans, was to enjoy self-government, but was to pay tribute to the Porte; Eastern Rumelia was to have a Christian governor, but was to remain under the dominion of the Sultan. In 1885 Eastern Rumelia united with Bulgaria.

⁹ At the present writing (1906) these unredeemed lands, particularly the eastern portion of them popularly designated as Macedonia, are seething with revolt. Bulgaria fosters the discontent, hoping that in the general readjustment of frontiers which must necessarily follow the expulsion of the Turks from Europe she will be able to secure additional territory. But Austria is unwilling to see Bulgaria enlarged or strengthened, since this would set an obstacle in the way of her eastern expansion; while Russia is opposed to any change in the present situation of things that would enhance the influence of Austria in the Balkans. And so the "unspeakable Turk" continues his oppressive rule over Christian lands in Europe.

**SOUTHEASTERN
EUROPE
1903**





82. The Liberal Movement in Russia. — We must now note a movement in Russian society more significant for Russian history and thus for general history than any of the wars of the Tsars or the diplomacy of the Muscovite court. This is the intellectual revolt of the educated Russian classes against the autocratic and repressive government of the Tsar.¹⁰

This Liberal movement is nothing else than the outworking in Russia of the ideas of the French Revolution. "In regard to the future consequences of this singular revolution," writes that keen observer, Arthur Young, "as an example to other nations, there can be no doubt but the spirit which has produced it will, sooner or later, spread throughout Europe, according to the different degrees of enlightenment amongst the common people." Without doubt the deepest cause of the Liberal movement which is agitating Russia to-day must be sought in the awakening intelligence of the Russian nation.

But if some definite beginning of the movement be sought, this may be found in the events of 1813-1815. In those years, as it has been put, the whole Russian army, like the great Tsar Peter, went on a pilgrimage to the West, and, like Peter, they got some new ideas. "The true and first propaganda of the revolt began," writes Edmund Noble, "when these travelling Russians carried back to their countrymen at home the story of what they had seen in Western Europe." This was simply a repetition of what had occurred in the case of those Frenchmen who in 1776 went to America to take part in the War of American Independence.

Those carrying on this propaganda of Liberalism are found especially in the faculties and among the students of the universities. Their fundamental demands are for constitutional representative government, the reform of the judicial system, and the removal of the restriction upon free discussion of public matters.

¹⁰ It is only theoretically of course that the Tsar is the autocratic ruler of Russia. The power behind the throne, the actual ruler, is the hierarchy of officials, who constitute what is known as a bureaucracy. This body of narrow-minded, selfish, and corrupt officials has been well likened to the monster in Mrs. Shelley's romance *Frankenstein*. Like that monster it has got beyond the control of its creator and commits wanton and revolting crimes.

In a word, they demand that the Russian people shall enjoy all those rights and immunities which the peoples of Western Europe have secured and are now enjoying.¹¹

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 gave a great impulse to this Liberal movement by utterly discrediting the corrupt, unscrupulous, and incapable government of the autocracy. The people, forced to make unheard-of sacrifices of life and treasure to carry on a disastrous war in which they had neither voice nor interest, arose in virtual insurrection. The empire became filled from end to end with unrest and disorder, with riots and local attempts to overthrow the government by violence. The situation was strangely like that of 1789 in France. A Reign of Terror seemed imminent. The Tsar was finally constrained to promise the people the early convening of a Douma, or National Assembly.

The meeting of this body, if the Tsar keeps faith with his people, will mark an epoch not only in the history of Russia but also in that of humanity. It will announce at once the political emancipation of the Russian nation, and the enhancement of the spiritual forces of civilization by the addition to them of the freely unfolding energies of a richly endowed race.

83. The Russianizing of Finland.—Like all autocrats the Tsars have aimed at the establishment of uniformity throughout their empire. Their maxim has been, "One faith, one king, one law." The dealings of the Tsar Nicholas with Finland will illustrate how all the non-Russian races of the empire are made the victims of the policy of the Tsars to Russianize their dominions. Finland was ceded to Russia by Sweden in 1809. It formed a grand duchy of the Russian empire. It had a liberal constitution which the Tsars had sworn to maintain and which secured the Finns a full measure of local self-government. Under their constitution the Finns, who number about two million souls, were a loyal, contented, and prosperous people. During the years

¹¹ It is a principle of the more extreme enemies of the autocracy that assassination is a righteous means of political reform. In 1881 the reigning Tsar, Alexander II, was assassinated by means of a bomb. After that event the government under Alexander III (1881-1894) and Nicholas II (1894-) became even more cruelly despotic and repressive than before.

1891-1902 the Tsar Nicholas by a series of imperial decrees practically annulled the ancient Finnish constitution and reduced the country to the condition of an administrative district of the empire. In a word, Finland was made a second Poland.

Commenting upon this act of ruthless and irresponsible despotism, Andrew D. White, formerly American Minister to Russia, is quoted in a recent interview as characterizing it as "the most wicked thing in the history of the last two centuries." Happily a more liberal policy has recently been adopted by the Tsar towards Finland, and substantially all its former rights have already (1906) been restored.¹²

Selections from the Sources. — *The European Concert in the Eastern Question* (ed. by Thomas Erskine Holland); contains the text of all the important treaties affecting the relations of Russia and the Ottoman Empire since 1826. HAMLEY, *The Story of the Campaign*. This is a graphic account of the Crimean War, "written in a tent in the Crimea," by an English officer.

Secondary Works. — RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, vol. iii. LEROY-BEAULIEU, *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*. KINGLAKE, *The Invasion of the Crimea*. MORFILL, *The Story of Russia*, chaps. x and xi. WALLACE, *Russia*; has chapters which give an excellent account of the *Mir* and the effects upon the serfs of the emancipation measure. STEP-
NIAK, *The Russian Peasantry*. NORLE, *The Russian Revolt and Russia and the Russians*. For works on Russia in Asia, see bibliography of the next chapter.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Poles and the grounds of their discontent. 2. General Todleben at Sevastopol. 3. The Russian *Mir*. 4. Tsar Alexander II and the emancipation of the Russian serfs. 5. The Russianizing of Finland. 6. The Russian bureaucracy. 7. Liberalism in Russia.

¹² Another matter of supreme interest in nineteenth century Russian history is the extraordinary expansion of the Russian empire in Asia. Concerning this important phase of Russian history we shall say something in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IX

EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. CAUSES AND GENERAL PHASES OF THE EXPANSION MOVEMENT

84. Significance of the Expansion of Europe into Greater Europe.

— In another connection in speaking of the establishment of the European colonies and settlements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we likened this expansion of Europe into Greater Europe to the expansion in antiquity of Greece into Greater Greece and Rome into Greater Rome. We have now to say something of the later phases of this wonderful outward movement of the European peoples.

In the first place we should note that it is this expansion movement which gives such significance to that intellectual, moral, and political development of the European peoples which we have been studying. This evolution might well be likened to the religious evolution in ancient Judea. That development of a new religion was a matter of transcendent importance because the new faith was destined not for a little corner of the earth but for all the world. Likewise the creation by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Democratic Revolution of a new, rich, and progressive civilization in Europe is a matter of vast importance to universal history because that civilization has manifestly been wrought out not for a single continent or for a single race but for all the continents and for all mankind.

We are now to see how the bearers of this new culture have carried or are carrying it to all lands and are communicating it to all peoples, thereby opening up a new era not alone in the history of Europe but in the history of the world.

85. The Fate of the Earlier Colonial Empires ; Decline and Revival of Interest in Colonies. — Elsewhere we have narrated the history of the colonial empires founded by the various European nations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The magnificent Portuguese Empire soon became the spoil of the Dutch and the English ; France lost her colonial possessions to England ; a great part of the colonies of the Dutch also finally fell into English hands ; before the end of the eighteenth century England lost through revolution her thirteen colonies in North America ; and in the early part of the nineteenth century Spain in like manner lost all her dependencies on the mainland of the New World.

After these discouraging experiences with their colonies the governments of Europe lost interest for a while in possessions beyond the seas. Statesmen came to hold the doctrine that colonies are "like fruit, which as soon as ripe falls from the tree." The English minister Disraeli, in referring to England's colonial possessions, once used these words : "Those wretched colonies are millstones about our neck."

Before the close of the nineteenth century, however, there sprang up a most extraordinary revival of interest in colonies and dependencies, and the leading European states began to compete eagerly for over-the-sea possessions.

86. Causes of the Revived Interest in Colonies. — A variety of causes concurred to awaken or to foster this new interest in colonies. One cause is to be found in the rapid increase during the nineteenth century of the people of European stock. At the beginning of the century the estimated population of Europe (excluding Turkey) was about one hundred and sixty millions ; at the end of the century it had risen to four hundred and thirty-six millions. During this same period the number of people of European stock in the world at large rose from about one hundred and seventy millions to over five hundred millions.¹ This

¹ These earlier figures must be regarded as mere approximations. We have no reliable figures for the beginning of the century. Census taking is practically a nineteenth century innovation, save in two or three countries.

increase in numbers of the European peoples is one of the most important facts in modern history. It has caused Europe to overflow and to inundate the world. It has made the smallest of the continents the mother and nursery of nations.²

The political significance of this great outward movement, which almost unnoticed for a long time by European statesmen was creating a new Europe outside of Europe and shifting the center of gravity of the world, at last attracted the attention of the European governments and awakened an unwonted interest in colonies and dependencies.

A second cause is to be found in the industrial revolution which began in England towards the end of the eighteenth century and which gradually transformed the industrial life of all the more advanced nations. The enormous quantity of fabrics and wares of every kind which the new processes of manufacture created, led to sharp competition among commercial classes in the different nations for the control of the markets in the uncivilized or semi-civilized lands beyond the frontiers of the European world, which the new and improved means of transportation had now brought within easy reach of the great manufacturing centers. In order to secure a monopoly of these markets for their subjects it was thought necessary by the European governments to take possession of these lands or to establish protectorates over them.

A third cause, one which tended to give a general character to the colonial movement, was the manifest advantage that England was deriving from her colonial possessions, especially as revealed on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees in 1887 and 1897, when there passed along the streets of London imposing processions of representatives of all the races of the British Empire. This spectacle, unparalleled in

² The great tide of emigration which during the past century has flowed from Europe into the unoccupied places of the world was not set in motion by any single cause. With the pressure arising from the growing population of Europe, which may be regarded as the primary cause of the movement, there concurred a great variety of other causes, political, religious, and economic in their nature, such as have always been inciting or fostering causes in every great migration and colonization movement known to history.

modern times in its suggestions of imperial riches and power, produced a profound impression upon the witnessing nations. It stirred in them a spirit of emulation and made them eager to secure colonial possessions and dependencies that they too like England might rule over many lands and races.

Thus it came about through these and other influences that during the last fifteen or twenty years of the nineteenth century almost all the old colonizing peoples of Europe were exerting themselves to the utmost to build up new empires to take the place of those they had lost, while other nations that had never possessed colonies now also began to compete eagerly with those earlier in the field for over-the-sea possessions.

87. Stanley's Discoveries open up the "Dark Continent." — However, by the time of this awakening of the governments of Europe to the importance of colonies almost all the lands outside of Europe suited to European settlement were closed against true colonizing enterprises by having been appropriated by England, or through their being in the control of independent states that had grown out of colonies planted by immigrants of European speech and blood. The makers of new empires had no longer the whole world before them from which to choose.

Africa, however, was still left. For a century intrepid explorers had been endeavoring to uncover the mysteries of that continent. Among these was the missionary-explorer David Livingstone. He died in 1873. His mantle fell upon Henry M. Stanley, who a short time after the death of Livingstone set out on an adventurous expedition across Africa⁸ (1870-1877), in which journey he discovered the course of the Congo and learned the nature



FIG. 15. — HENRY M. STANLEY. (From a photograph)

⁸ Stanley had made an earlier expedition (1871-1872) in search of Livingstone.

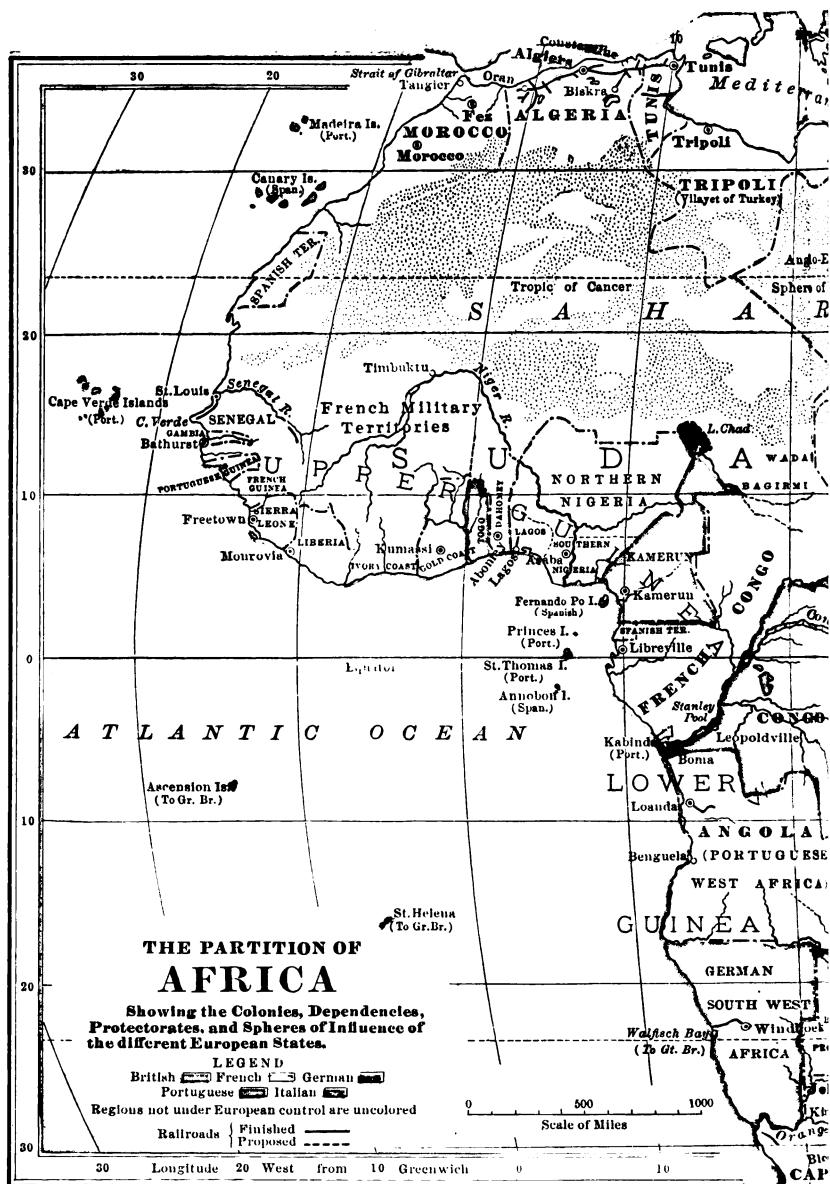
of its great basin. Not since the age of Columbus had there been any discoveries in the domain of geography comparable in importance to these of Stanley. Stanley gave the world an account of his journey in a book bearing the title *Through the Dark Continent*. The appearance of this work marks an epoch in the history of Africa. It inspired innumerable enterprises, political, commercial, and philanthropic, whose aim was to develop the natural resources of the continent and to open it up to civilization.

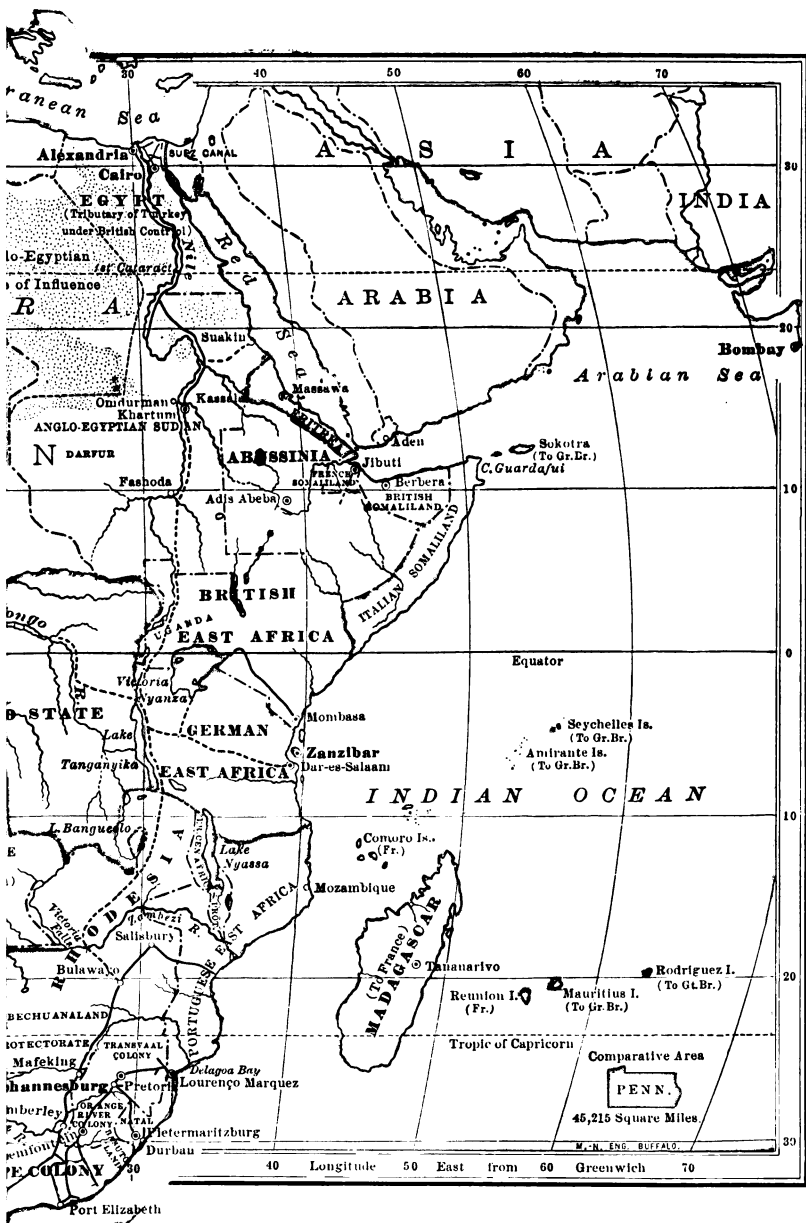
88. The Founding of the Congo Free State (1885).—One immediate outcome of the writings and discoveries of Stanley was the founding of the Congo Free State.

King Leopold II of Belgium was one of those whose imagination was touched by the vast possibilities of the African continent. He conceived the idea of establishing in the valley of the Congo a great state which should be a radiating center for the diffusion of the benefits of civilization over the Dark Continent. Through his efforts an International African Association was formed, under whose auspices Stanley, after his return from his second expedition, was sent out to establish stations in the Congo basin and to lay there the foundation of European order and government.

The association had found in Stanley a remarkably able lieutenant. His work as an organizer and administrator was carried on almost continuously for five years (1879-1884),—"long years of bitter labor," as he himself speaks of them. He made treaties with over four hundred and fifty native chiefs, who ceded to him their sovereign rights over their lands. He founded numerous stations along the banks of the Congo and its tributaries. By these and like herculean labors Stanley—*Stanley Africanus*, it has been suggested, should be his ennobled name—became the real founder of what is now known as the Congo Free State, and earned a place among the great administrators and state builders of modern times.⁴

⁴ The Congo Free State has an estimated population of thirteen millions. King Leopold of Belgium is the head of the state, whose independence and sovereignty have been recognized by the United States and most of the governments of Europe. The state is not nominally a Belgian colony; it is at the present time (1906) merely an appanage of the Belgian crown. A railroad projected by Stanley, two hundred







89. The Partition of Africa. — The discoveries of Stanley and the founding of the Congo Free State were the signal for a scramble among the powers of Europe for African territory. England, France, and Germany were the strongest competitors and they got the largest shares. In the short space of fifteen years Africa became a dependency of Europe. The only native states retaining their independence by the end of the nineteenth century were Abyssinia and Morocco, together with the negro republic of Liberia, the government of which is in the hands of American freedmen or their descendants.

This transference of the control of the affairs of Africa from the hands of its native inhabitants or those of Asiatic Mohammedan intruders to the hands of Europeans is without question the most momentous transaction in the history of that continent, and one which must shape its future destiny.⁵

In the following sections of this chapter, in which we propose briefly to rehearse the part which each of the leading European states has taken in the general expansion movement, we shall necessarily have to speak of the part which each played in the partition of Africa and tell what each secured.

II. THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

90. England in America; the Dominion of Canada. — The separation of the thirteen American colonies from England in 1776 seemed to give a fatal blow to English hopes of establishing a great colonial empire in America. But half of North America still remained in English hands.

and fifty miles in length, has been built around the falls of the Congo. This enterprise has brought into touch with civilization a vast region which throughout all the long period of history up to the time of Stanley's achievement had been absolutely cut off from communication with the civilized races of mankind. Regretfully one records that just now there are persistent reports of atrocious cruelty on the part of the agents of the Belgian government towards the natives in the collection of the tribute of rubber which is exacted of them.

⁵ Almost all the European states during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had maintained forts and stations on the African coast, but they had not penetrated beyond the shore land.

Gradually the attractions of British North America as a dwelling place for settlers of European stock became known. Immigration, mostly from the British Isles, increased in volume, so that the growth of the country in population during the nineteenth century was phenomenal, rising from about a quarter of a million at the opening of the period to over five millions at its close.

One of the most important matters in the political history of Canada since the country passed under English rule is the granting of responsible government to the provinces in 1841. Up to that time England's colonial system was in principle like that which had resulted in the loss to the British Empire of the thirteen colonies. The concession marked a new era in the history of English colonization. The Canadian provinces now became in all home matters absolutely self-governing.⁶

The concession of complete self-government to the provinces was followed, in 1867, by the union of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into a federal state under the name of the Dominion of Canada.⁷ The constitution of the Dominion, save as to the federal principle, is modeled after that of Great Britain, wherein it differs from the recently framed Australian constitution, which follows closely that of the United States.

The political union of the provinces made possible the successful accomplishment of one of the great engineering undertakings of our age. This was the construction of a transcontinental railroad from Montreal to Vancouver. This road has done for the confirming of the federal union and for the industrial development of the Dominion what the building of similar transcontinental lines has done for the United States.

By reason of its vast geographical extent, — its area is more than thirty-five times as great as that of the British Isles, — its inexhaustible mineral deposits, its unrivaled fisheries, its limitless forests, grazing lands, and wheat fields, its bracing climate, and

⁶ The treaty-making power and matters of peace and war are still in the hands of the English government.

⁷ Later the confederation was joined by British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and other provinces. Newfoundland has steadily refused to join the union.

above all its free institutions, the Dominion of Canada seems marked out to be one of the great future homes of the Anglo-Saxon race. What the United States now is, the Dominion seems destined at a time not very remote to become.

91. England in Australasia; ⁸ the Proclamation of the Commonwealth of Australia (1901). — About the time that England lost her American colonies the celebrated navigator Captain Cook reached and explored the shores of New Zealand and Australia (1769–1771). Disregarding the claims of earlier visitors to these lands, he took possession of the islands for the British crown.

The best use to which England could at first think to put the new lands was to make them a place of exile for criminals. The first shipload of convicts was landed at Botany Bay in Australia in 1788. But the agricultural riches of the new lands, their adaptability to stock raising, and the healthfulness of the climate soon drew to them a stream of English immigrants. In 1851 came the announcement of the discovery of fabulously rich deposits of gold, and then set in a tide of immigration such as the world has seldom seen.

Before the close of the century five flourishing colonies (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and West Australia), with an aggregate population, including that of the neighboring island of Tasmania, of almost four millions, had grown up along the fertile well-watered rim of the Australian continent and had developed free institutions similar to those of the mother country.

The great political event in the history of these colonies was their consolidation, just at the opening of the twentieth century, into the Commonwealth of Australia, a federal union like our own.

The vast possibilities of the future of this new Anglo-Saxon commonwealth in the South Pacific has impressed in an unwonted way the imagination of the world. It is possible that in the

⁸ Australasia, meaning "south land of Asia," is the name under which Australia and New Zealand are comprehended. Here, as in South Africa, in Canada, and in India, England appeared late on the ground. The Spaniards and the Dutch had both preceded her. The presence of the Dutch is witnessed by the names New Holland (the earlier name of Australia) and New Zealand attaching to the greater islands.

coming periods of history this new Britain will hold some such place in the Pacific as the mother land now holds in the Atlantic.

92. England in Asia. — In the eighteenth century was laid the basis of the British Empire in India. Throughout the nineteenth century England steadily advanced the frontiers of her dominions here and consolidated her power until by the close of the century she had brought either under her direct rule or under her suzerainty almost three hundred millions of Asiatics,⁹ — the largest number of human beings, so far as history knows, ever united under a single scepter.

We must here note how England's occupation of India and her large interests in the trade of Southern and Eastern Asia involved her during the century in several wars and shaped in great measure her foreign policies. One of the earliest of these wars was that known as the Afghan War of 1838–1842, into which she was drawn through her jealousy of Russia.¹⁰

At the same time England became involved in the so-called Opium War with China¹¹ (1839–1842). As a result of this war England obtained by cession from China the island and port of Hongkong, which she has made one of the most important commercial and naval stations of her empire. In 1901 over twenty-four thousand vessels entered the ports of the island.

Scarcely was the Opium War ended before England was involved in a gigantic struggle with Russia, — the Crimean War, already spoken of in connection with Russian history (sec. 79). From our present standpoint we can better understand why

⁹ By the census of 1901 the population of the British Indian Empire (this includes the feudatory states) was 294,461,056.

¹⁰ England's endeavor here was to maintain Afghanistan as a buffer state between her Indian possessions and the expanding Russian Empire. The war was marked by a great tragedy, — the virtual annihilation in the wild mountain passes leading from India to Afghanistan of an Anglo-Indian army of 16,000 men. There was a second Afghan War in 1879–1880.

¹¹ The opium traffic between India and China had grown into gigantic proportions and had become a source of wealth to the British merchants and of revenue to the Indian government. The Chinese government, however, awake to the evils of the growing use of the narcotic, resisted the importation of the drug. This was the cause of the war. The Chinese government was compelled to acquiesce in the continuance of the nefarious traffic.

England threw herself into the conflict on the side of Turkey. She fought to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in order that her own great rival, Russia, might be prevented from seizing Constantinople and the Bosphorus, and from that point controlling the affairs of Asia through the command of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The echoes of the Crimean War had barely died away before England was startled by the most alarming intelligence from the country for the secure possession of which English soldiers had borne their part in the fierce struggle before Sevastopol.

In 1857 there broke out in the armies of the East India Company what is known as the Sepoy Mutiny.¹² Fortunately many of the native regiments stood firm in their allegiance to England, and with their aid the revolt was speedily crushed. As a consequence of the mutiny the government of India was by act of Parliament taken out of the hands of the East India Company and vested in the English crown.

There are without question offsets to the indisputably good results of English rule in India; nevertheless it is one of the most important facts of modern history, and one of special import as bearing on our present study, that nearly three hundred millions of the population of Asia should thus have passed, whether for better or for worse, under the rule and wardship of a European nation.

¹² The causes of the uprising were various. The crowd of deposed princes was one element of discontent. A widespread conviction among the natives, awakened by different acts of the English, that their religion was in danger was another of the causes that led to the rebellion. There were also military grievances of which the native soldiers complained. The mutiny broke out simultaneously at different points. The atrocities committed by the rebels at Cawnpur sent a thrill of horror throughout the civilized world. Nana Sahib had slain the garrison and crowded about two hundred English women and children into a small chamber. They were spared the fate of the prisoners in the Black Hole of Calcutta, but only to meet a more terrible one. Fearing that the English forces, advancing by forced marches under General Henry Havelock, would effect a rescue of the prisoners, Nana Sahib employed five assassins to go into the room with their swords and knives and kill them all. The work required two hours. Then the bodies were dragged out and flung into a neighboring well, where they were found by the rescuing party, which arrived just too late to prevent the tragedy.

93. England in South Africa; Boer and Briton. — England has played a great part in the partition of Africa, and as usual has got the lion's share of the spoils, not as to the size of her portion but as to its real value. Her first appearance upon the continent both in Egypt and at the Cape was brought about through her solicitude for her East India possessions and the security of her routes thither. Later she joined in the scramble of European powers for African territories for their own sake.

The Dutch had preceded the English in South Africa. They began their settlement at the Cape about the middle of the seventeenth century in the great days of Holland. During the French Revolution and again during Napoleon's ascendancy the English took the Dutch colony under their protection. After the downfall of Napoleon in 1814 the colony was ceded to England by the Netherlands.¹³

The Dutch settlers refused to become reconciled to the English rule. In 1836 a large number of these aggrieved colonists took the heroic resolve of abandoning their old homes and going out into the African wilderness in search of new ones. This was a resolution worthy of their ancestry, for these African Pilgrims were descendants of those Dutch patriots who fought so heroically against Philip II, and of Huguenot refugees who in the seventeenth century fled from France to escape the tyranny of Louis XIV.

This migration is known as "The Great Trek."¹⁴ The immigrants journeyed from the Cape towards the northeast, driving their herds before them and carrying their women and children and all their earthly goods in great clumsy ox carts. Beyond the Orange River some of the immigrants unyoked their oxen and set up homes, laying there the basis of the Orange Free State; the more intrepid "trekked" still farther to the north, across the Vaal River, and established the republic of the Transvaal.

¹³ After the loss of the Cape Settlement the island of Java was the most important colonial possession remaining to the Dutch. Gradually they got possession of the greater part of the large island of Sumatra. These two islands form the heart of the Dutch East Indies of to-day, which embrace a native population of about 36,000,000.

¹⁴ *Trek* is Dutch for "migration" or "journey."

Two generations passed, a period filled for the little republics, surrounded by hostile African tribes, with anxieties and fighting. Then there came a turning point in their history. In the year 1885 gold deposits of extraordinary richness were discovered in the Transvaal. Straightway there began a tremendous inrush of miners and adventurers from all parts of the globe.

A great portion of these newcomers were English-speaking people. As aliens — *Uitlanders*, "outlanders," they were called — they were excluded from any share in the government, although they made up two thirds of the population of the little state and paid the greater part of the taxes. They demanded the franchise. The Boers, under the lead of the sturdy President of the Transvaal, Paul Krüger, refused to accede to their demands, urging that this would mean practically the surrender of the independence of the Republic and its annexation to the British Empire.

The controversy grew more and more bitter and soon ripened into war between England and the Transvaal (1899). The Orange Free State joined its little army to that of its sister state, — an act in which James Bryce declares there was "an heroic quality not surpassed by anything in the history of the classical peoples."¹⁵

At the outset the Boers, who are very expert with their rifles, were everywhere successful, inflicting one disastrous defeat after another upon the English forces, while the world looked on in amazement. The British Empire in Africa was threatened with destruction. England was stirred as she had not been stirred since the Sepoy Mutiny in India. An army of three hundred thousand men, gathered from all parts of the British Empire, was hastily thrown into South Africa, and the supreme command intrusted to the able and experienced general, Lord Roberts. After the maintenance of the struggle for over two years the last of the Boer bands surrendered (1902). As the outcome of the war both of the republics were annexed to the British Empire under the names of the Transvaal Colony and Orange River Colony.

¹⁵ The total European or white population of the two little republics that thus threw down the gage of battle to the most powerful empire of modern times was only a little over 300,000.

These new acquisitions, taken in connection with Cape Colony, Natal, and the various protectorates and dependencies which England has established in West, East, and Central Africa,¹⁶ form a vast empire, a considerable portion of which is well suited to European settlement.

A political ideal of English statesmen is the union of all the English and Anglo-Dutch colonies and states of South Africa into a great federation like the Canadian and Australian. This was a favorite project of the late South African statesman, Cecil Rhodes, one of the most masterful men of his generation. Such a federation must be the ultimate destiny of these colonies; and if only the present bitter antagonism between Boer and Briton dies away here, as the once like antagonism between French and Briton has died away in Canada, such a federal state could not fail of having a great future.

Another important project of the English is the building of a Cape-to-Cairo railroad. This, like the political scheme of a federation, was also a favorite project of Cecil Rhodes. Already his dream has been in great part realized. The projected line has now (1906) been carried northward from Cape Town over two thousand miles to and beyond the celebrated Victoria Falls on the Zambesi; while at the other end of the continent the road has been pushed up the Nile from Cairo to Khartum, a distance of over thirteen hundred miles (including a little over two hundred miles of river navigation above Assuan). This railway when completed, as it without doubt will be at no very remote date, will be a potent factor in the opening up of the Dark Continent to civilization.

94. England in Egypt. — In 1876 England and France established what was in effect a dual protectorate over Egypt in order to secure against loss their subjects who were holders of Egyptian bonds.¹⁷ Six years later, in 1882, there broke out in

¹⁶ An idea of the situation and extent of these can best be gained by the use of the map after page 90.

¹⁷ Egypt was at that time and still is nominally an hereditary principality under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte. Practically it was then an independent state and now is virtually a part of the British Empire; for no one doubts that the present

the Egyptian army a mutiny against the authority of the Khedive. France declining to act with England in suppressing the disorder, England moved alone in the matter. The result of her intervention was the establishment of an English protectorate over the country.

In 1885 a second expedition had to be sent out to the same country. The Sudanese, subjects of the Khedive, had revolted and were threatening with destruction the Egyptian garrisons in the Sudan. An Anglo-Egyptian army pushed its way up the Nile to the relief of Khartum, which General Gordon, the modern English knight-errant, was holding against the Mahdi, the military prophet and leader of the Sudanese Arabs. The expedition arrived too late, Khartum having fallen just before relief reached the town. Gordon perished with most of his followers.

The English troops were now recalled and the Sudan was abandoned to the rebel Arabs. For over a decade this southern land remained under the cruel rule of the Mahdi and his successor. The country was devastated by fire and sword, and Egypt was continually harassed by raids of the dervishes.

Finally in 1896 the English sent up the Nile another expedition under General Kitchener for the recovery of the lost territory. The undertaking was successful, and the Eastern Sudan and a vast territory embracing the basin of the Nile and its tributaries were again brought under the rule of the Khedive, — that is to say, under the administrative control of England (1898).

No part of the world has benefited more by European control than Egypt. When England assumed the administration of its affairs it was in every respect one of the most wretched of the lands under the rule, actual or nominal, of the Turkish Sultan. The country is now, according to the claims of eminent English authority, more prosperous than at any previous period of its history, not excepting the time of the rule of the Pharaohs. This high degree of prosperity has been secured mainly through

English protectorate will in time be converted into absolute dominion. English statesmen are beginning to regard Egypt as an indispensable link in England's chain of stations uniting her Asian empire to the home land.

England's having given Egypt the two things declared necessary to its prosperity, — "justice and water."

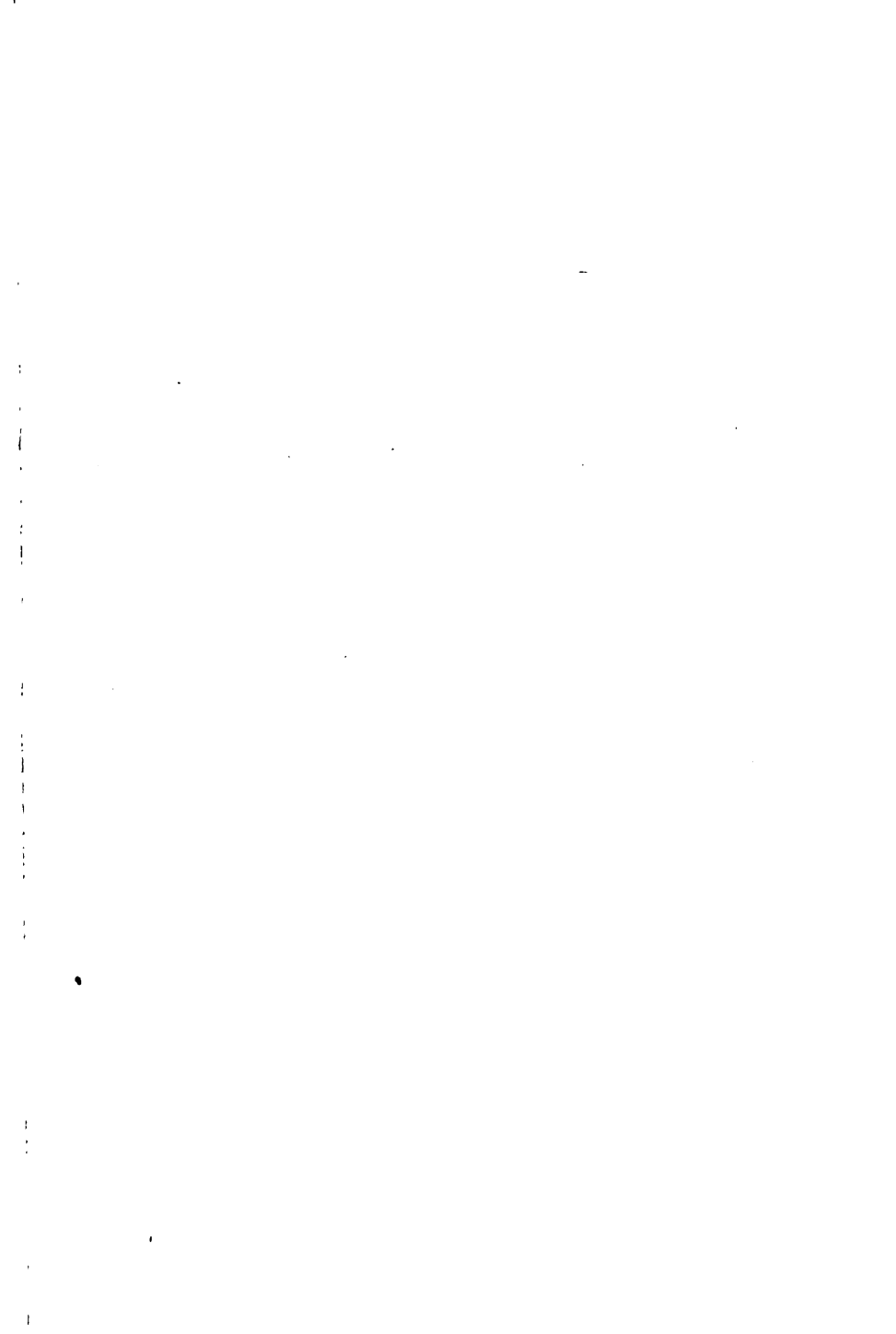
The construction of the great irrigation or storage dam across the Nile at the First Cataract (at Assuan) is one of the greatest engineering achievements of modern times. The dam retains the surplus waters of the Nile in flood times and releases them gradually during the months of low water. This constant supply of water for irrigation purposes will, it is estimated, increase by a third the agricultural capabilities of Egypt not only by greatly augmenting the area of fertile soil but by making it possible on much of the land to raise two and even three crops each year.

III. THE EXPANSION OF FRANCE

95. France in Africa. — At the opening of the nineteenth century France possessed only fragments of a once promising colonial empire. From the long Napoleonic Wars she emerged too exhausted to give any attention for a time to interests outside of the home land.

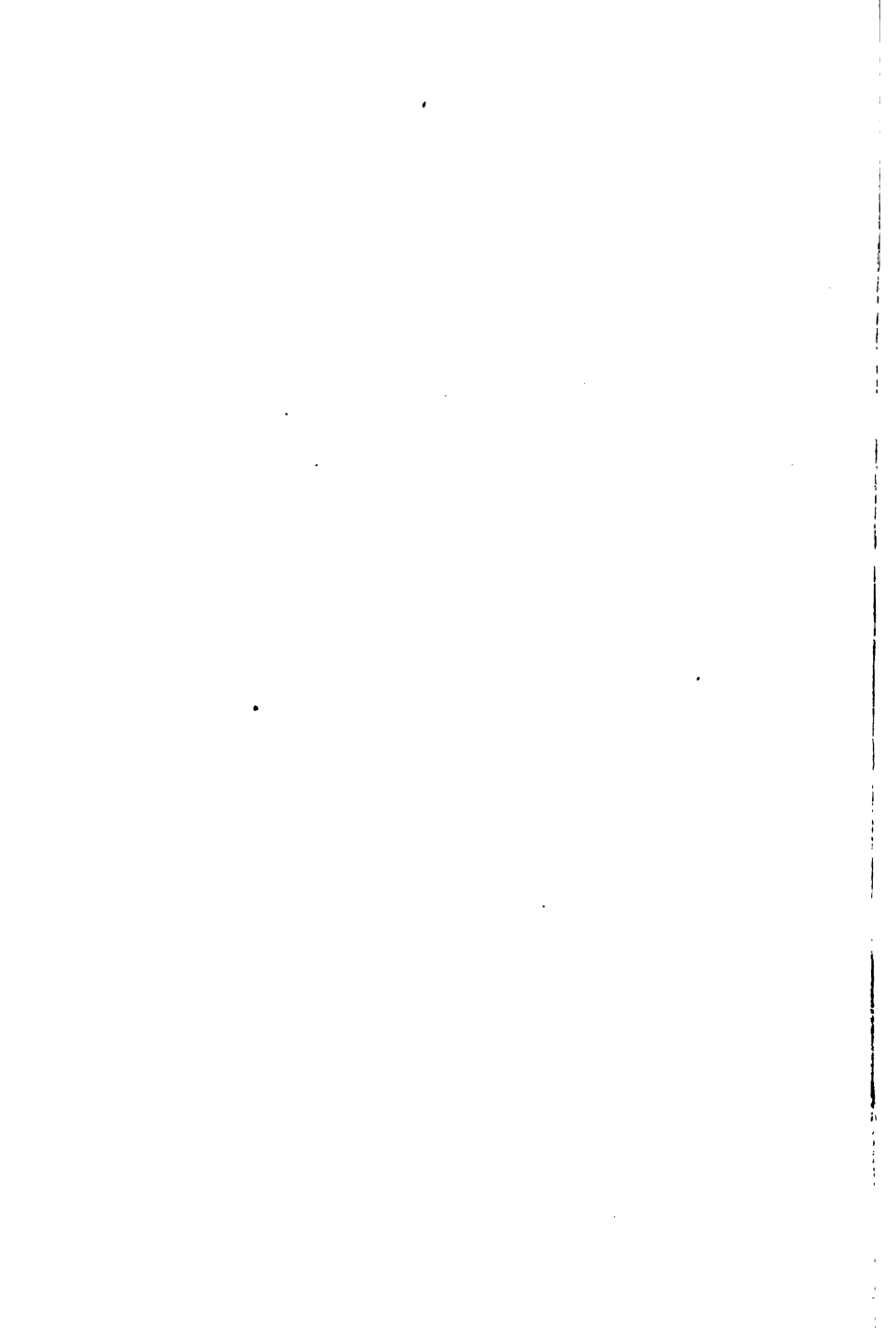
When finally she began to look about her for over-the-sea territories to make good her losses in America and Asia, it was the North African shore which, on account of proximity (it is only twenty-four hours distant by steam from the southern ports of France), climate, and products, naturally attracted her attention. This region possesses great agricultural resources. In ancient times it was one of the richest grain-tribute-paying provinces of the Roman Empire. Its climate is favorable for Latin-European settlement. It is really geographically a part of Europe, "the true Africa beginning with the Sahara."

France began the conquest of Algeria as early as 1830. The subjugation of the country was not effected without much hard fighting with the native tribes and a great expenditure in men and money. In the year 1881, under the pretext of defending her Algerian frontier against the raids of the mountain tribes of Tunis on the east, France sent troops into that country and established a protectorate over it. This act of hers deeply









offended the Italians, who had had their eye upon this district, regarding it as belonging to them by virtue of its geographical position as well as its historical traditions.¹⁸

These North African territories form the most promising portion of France's new colonial empire. The more sanguine of her statesmen entertain hopes of ultimately creating here a new home for the French people, — a sort of New France. In any event it seems certain that all these shore lands, which in the seventh century were severed from Europe by the Arabian conquests, are now again permanently reunited to that continent and are henceforth to constitute virtually a part of the European world.

Besides these lands in North Africa, France possesses a vast domain in the region of the Senegal and lays claim to all the Sahara lying between her colony of Senegal and Algeria. She also holds extensive territories just north of the Congo Free State, embracing part of Central Sudan. The island of Madagascar also forms a part of the French-African empire.

It is to be feared that France will not find in Africa any such valuable possessions as in the eighteenth century she lost to England in America and Asia. Yet she has entered upon the work of opening up and developing her African empire with characteristic enthusiasm and expansiveness of plans. She has projects that aim at the redemption, by means of artesian wells, of extensive tracts of the Sahara. It is thought not impracticable to create a line of these oases across the Sahara from the city of Constantine in Algeria to Timbuktu in the Sudan, and thus to facilitate the construction of a projected Trans-Saharan railway.

96. France in Asia. — In the year 1862 France secured a foothold near the mouth of the Cambodia River in Indo-China,

¹⁸ Disappointed in not getting Tunis, the Italians sought to secure a foothold on the Red Sea coast. They seized here a district and organized it under the name of the Colony of Eritrea; but they had hard luck almost from the first. The coast is hot and unhealthful and inland is the kingdom of Abyssinia. Over this the Italians attempted to establish a protectorate; but unfortunately for them Abyssinia does not regard herself as one of the uncivilized or moribund states over which it is necessary for Europeans to extend their protection. King Menelik of that country inflicted upon the Italian army a most disastrous defeat (1896). Since then the Italians have done very little in the way of developing their African possessions.

and has since then steadily enlarged her possessions until now she holds in those quarters territories which exceed in extent the home land. A chief aim of the French in this region is to secure the trade of Southern China. To this end they are projecting the extension northward into China of the system of railways they have already constructed.

With these ample African and Asiatic territories France feels in a measure consoled for her losses in the past, and dreams of a brilliant career as one of the great colonizing powers of Europe. France has, however, one great handicap as a colonizing state. She has not, what both England and Germany have, a rapidly increasing population at home. Nor have her citizens that restless, adventurous spirit of the Anglo-Saxons which has driven them as conquerors and settlers into the remotest parts of the earth and made England the mother of innumerable colonies and states.

IV. THE EXPANSION OF GERMANY

97. German Emigrants Lost to Germany. — No country of Europe during the expansion movement of the nineteenth century supplied a greater number of emigrants for the settlement of transoceanic lands than Germany. But Germany has not until recently possessed under her own flag any over-the-sea territories, and consequently the vast number of emigrants she has sent out have sought homes in the United States, in the different English colonies, and in the Spanish and Portuguese republics of South America. Thus it happens that although Germany has sent out vast swarms of emigrants, no true Greater Germany has grown up outside of Europe.

Stimulated by the patriotic war of 1870-1871 against France, and the consolidation of the German Empire, German statesmen began to dream of making Germany a world power. To this end it was deemed necessary to secure for Germany colonies where the German emigrants might live under the German flag and, instead of contributing to the growth and prosperity of rival states, should remain Germans and constitute a part of the German nation.

98. Germany in Africa. — Consequently when the competition came for African territory Germany entered into the struggle with great zeal and got a fair share of the spoils. In 1884 she declared a protectorate over a large region on the southwest coast of the continent just north of the Orange River, and thus lying partly in the temperate zone. This region she has opened up to civilization by the construction of a railroad over two hundred and thirty miles in length running from the west coast inland.¹⁹

At almost the same time she established two smaller protectorates in the tropic belt farther to the north. On the East African coast she seized a great territory, twice as large as the home land, embracing a part of the celebrated Lake District. These upland regions are well adapted to European settlement and must in time be filled by people of European descent.

99. Germany in Asia. — The hopes of many German expansionists are centered in Western Asia rather than in Africa. Thousands of Germans have crowded into Asia Minor and Syria and have come to form in some districts an important element of the industrial and trading population. It is said to be the hope of the present German Emperor that ultimately Asia Minor and Syria will come to form a part of the German Empire. Certainly if the present process of the Germanization of those regions continues, it is not at all unlikely that a large part of Western Asia will come eventually into some such relation to Germany as Egypt now sustains to England.

One of the most important projects of the Germans in these Asian regions is the extension of the Anatolian Railway, now under German control, from Konieh in Asia Minor over the Taurus Mountains, across the Mesopotamian plains, and down the Tigris-Euphrates valley to the head of the Persian Gulf. Such a line under German control would greatly enhance German influence in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Besides providing a new and shorter route to India, — the route used by the ancient peoples,

¹⁹ In 1904 the German government was forced to face a serious revolt of some of the native tribes of the protectorate. At the present writing (March, 1906) the trouble is still unallayed.

— it would open up to civilization the wonderfully fertile regions which formed the heart of the early and populous empires of Assyria and Babylonia. The restoration of these lands from their present artificial sterility would give back to mankind some of the choicest portions of their heritage, long given over to desolation and neglect.²⁰

German expansion presses not only on the Turkish Empire but also upon the Chinese Empire. In 1897 Germany, on the pretext of protecting German missionaries in China, seized the port of Kiau-chau and forced its practical cession from the Chinese government. This is a spot of great importance commercially and politically. The German government aims to make this colony a true German settlement and the outgoing point of German power and influence in the Far East.²¹

V. THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIA

100. General Statement.— Russia has large and numerous inland lakes and seas and vast rivers, but she lacks seaboard. Her efforts to reach the sea in different directions affords the key to much of her history. It is this which has given a special character to Russian expansion, which has made it a movement by land instead of by sea, as in the case of all the other European states that have had a part in the great expansion movement.

The expansion of Russia is one of the most striking features of the great European development which we are following. This outward movement has put her in possession of about one seventh of the habitable earth.

101. Russian Expansion in Asia.— Russia has steadily gravitated towards the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and the

²⁰ Along with this railway project is being discussed a proposal for the restoration of the ancient irrigation works of the Tigris and Euphrates region. It is estimated by Sir William Willcocks that \$100,000,000 expended in the restoration of the irrigation system of the ancient Babylonians would bring a return of at least \$300,000,000. What has already been done for Egypt by the building of the great storage Nile dam at Assuan will almost certainly at no remote date be repeated here in what was formerly the "Asian Egypt."

²¹ Besides the colonial possessions we have named, Germany holds a number of islands and groups of islands in the Pacific.

Pacific. Only in Europe has her glacier-like movement been much impeded by the obstacles placed in her path through the jealousy of the other powers. She made no material territorial gains in Europe, aside from the acquisition of Finland and part of Prussian Poland, during the nineteenth century, notwithstanding that she fought in three great wars for this end and shattered into fragments a great part of the Turkish Empire which lay between her and the goal of her ambition, — Constantinople.

But in Asia the additions which, during this period, Russia made to her empire were immense in extent. By the middle of the century she had conquered and absorbed a large part of the Caucasus region, encroaching here upon both Persia and Turkey in Asia. During the latter half of the century she steadily pushed forward her boundaries in Central Asia. She conquered or conciliated the tribes of Turkestan and advanced her frontier in this quarter far towards the south, — close up against Afghanistan. In the very heart of the continent her outposts are now established upon the lofty table-lands of the Pamirs, the "Roof of the World." Here her frontier and that of the British Empire are only twenty miles apart. In the extreme eastern part of Asia she obtained from China, under circumstances which will be explained a little farther on (sec. 109), the lease of Port Arthur, one of the most important Asiatic harbors on the Pacific, and occupied the large Chinese province of Manchuria, which occupation it was generally believed would end in the actual annexation of that magnificent domain to the Russian Empire.

Thus by the end of the century Russia in her expansion had not only subjugated the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes of Central Asia, but had also won territories from the three semi-civilized states of the continent, Turkey, Persia, and China, and was crowding heavily upon all those countries.

102. The Trans-Siberian Railway. — Russia's most noteworthy undertaking during the nineteenth century in connection with her Asiatic empire was the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which now unites St. Petersburg with the Pacific ports of Vladivostok and Port Arthur. The construction of this road has made

accessible to Russian settlers the vast fertile regions of Southern Siberia; and will soon render that country a part of the civilized world; for though it may be true as to the past that "civilization has come riding on a gun carriage," now it comes riding on a locomotive.

VI. THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

103. The Growth of the United States a Part of the Great European Expansion Movement. — At first view it might seem that the growth of our own country should not be given a place in the present chapter. But the expansion of the United States is as truly a part of European expansion as is the increase of the English race in Canada, or in Australasia, or in South Africa. The circumstance that the development here has taken place since the severance of all political ties binding this country to the mother land is wholly immaterial. The Canadian, Australian, and African developments have, as a matter of fact, been expansion movements from practically secondary and independent centers of European settlement.

Hence, to complete our survey of the movement which has put in possession or in control of the European peoples so much of the earth, we must note — we can simply note — the expansion during the past century of the great American Commonwealth.

104. How the Territorial Acquisitions of the United States and its Growth in Population have contributed to assure the Predominance of the Anglo-Saxon Race in Greater Europe. — Six times during the nineteenth century the United States materially enlarged her borders.²² These gains in territory were in the main at the expense of a Latin race, — the Spanish. They have not therefore

²² Just at the end of the century the territorial expansion of the United States assumed a character altogether unlike that which up to that time it had retained. All our chief earlier acquisitions were lands contiguous to our previous possessions, were unoccupied or practically unoccupied, were adapted to European settlement, and were secured with the intention of making them into territories which might ultimately be carved into states and made an integral part of the Federal Union. But in 1898, as an outcome of our war with Spain, we acquired Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. In the latter islands we came into possession of lands already

resulted in an actual increase in the possessions of the European peoples, but have simply contributed to the predominance, or have marked the growing predominance, in this new-forming European world of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Of even greater significance than the territorial expansion of the United States during the past century is the amazing growth of the Republic during this period in population and in material and intellectual resources. At the opening of the century the white population of the United States was a little over four millions; by the end of the century it had risen to over sixty-seven millions. This is the largest aggregate of human force and intelligence that the world has yet seen. Even more impressive than its actual are its potential capacities. With practically unlimited room for expansion by reason of the territorial acquisitions we have noted, it is impossible adequately to realize into what, during the coming centuries, the American people will grow.

This remarkable growth of an English-speaking nation on the soil of the New World has contributed more than anything else, save the expansion of Great Britain into Greater Britain, to lend impressiveness and import to the movement indicated by the expression, "European expansion."

VII. CHECK TO EUROPEAN EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION IN EASTERN ASIA

105. Shall China be partitioned? — Before the close of the nineteenth century the outward movement of the European peoples, which we have now traced in broad outlines, had created a great crisis in the life of the peoples of the Far East. It had imperiled the independence of one of the great races of mankind, the yellow race, comprising perhaps one third of the population of the earth. It had raised the questions, Shall China be

peopled with an Asiatic race, and moreover lands unfitted for settlement by people of Teutonic stock. The acquisition by the United States of these Asiatic tropical dependencies has created for our government and our people many problems which still remain unsolved.

partitioned? Shall the Mongolian peoples of the Far East be dominated and their destinies shaped by the European powers? An unexpected answer to these questions was given by Japan.

106. The Awakening of Japan. — As late as the middle of the nineteenth century Japan was a hermit nation. She jealously

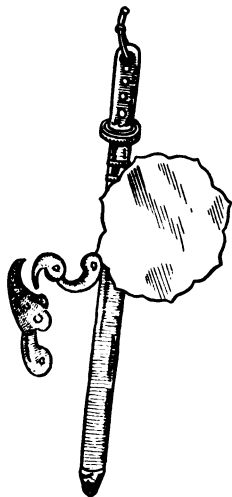


FIG. 16. — THE IMPERIAL REGALIA OF JAPAN.²³
(After a drawing by *Goji Ukita*)

excluded foreigners and refused to enter into diplomatic relations with the Western powers. But in the year 1854 Commodore Perry of the United States secured from the Japanese government concessions which opened the country to Western influences, under which Japan soon awoke to a new life.

In the course of the half century following this change in Japanese policy the progress made by Japan on all lines, political, material, and intellectual, was something without a parallel in history. She transformed her ancient feudal divine-right government into a representative constitutional system modeled upon the political institutions of the West. She adopted almost entire the material side of the civilization of the Western nations and eagerly absorbed their sciences.

But what took place, it should be carefully noted, was not a Europeanization of Japan. The new Japan was an evolution of the old. The Japanese to-day in their innermost life, in their deepest instincts, and in their modes of thought are still an Oriental people.

²³ This regalia consists of a mirror, a sword, and several tusk-shaped jewels. Of all the royal or imperial regalias in the world, this is the simplest, and the most symbolic and historically interesting. According to Japanese legend, the imperial emblems were a gift of the sun goddess to an ancestor of the first Emperor of Japan. The goddess accompanied the bestowal of the symbols with these words: "Look upon this mirror as if it were my own spirit, and reverence it as you would my own presence. For centuries upon centuries shall thy descendants rule this kingdom. Govern this country with purity like that of the light that radiates from the surface

107. Chino-Japanese War of 1894; a Mongolian Monroe Doctrine.—In 1894 came the war between Japan and China. A chief cause of this war was China's claim to suzerainty over Korea and her efforts to secure control of the affairs of that country. But under the conditions of modern warfare, and particularly in view of the Russian advance in Eastern Asia, the maintenance of Korea as an independent state seemed to Japan absolutely necessary to the security of her island empire. The situation is vividly pictured in these words of Okakura-Kakuzo, the author of *The Awakening of Japan*: "Any hostile power," he says, "in occupation of the peninsula might easily throw an army into Japan, for Korea lies like a dagger ever pointed toward the very heart of Japan."

Still again, realizing that greed of territory would lead the European powers sooner or later to seek the partition of China and the political control of the Mongolian lands of the Far East, Japan wished to stir China from her lethargy, make herself her adviser and leader, and thus get in a position to control the affairs of Eastern Asia. In a word, she was resolved to set up a sort of Monroe Doctrine in her part of the world, which should close Mongolian lands against European encroachments and preserve for Asiatics what was still left of Asia.

of the mirror. Deal with thy subjects with the gentleness typified by the bland and soft luster of the jewels. Combat the enemies of thy empire with this sword." No other royal regalia is so intimately related to the national life of a people as are these sacred emblems of Japan. Respecting this we quote from a most interesting paper on the subject, read before the Japan Society of London, in 1902, by Mr. Ukita, Chancellor of the Imperial Japanese Legation: "In conclusion, I should like to say one word in regard to the significance of the regalia in the mind of the Japanese people. The emblems, as I have pointed out, symbolize Knowledge, Courage, and Mercy; and it has always been held that unless a ruler be possessed of all these three virtues, he will be powerless to govern the country in peace and prosperity. With this in mind, the importance of the regalia, which symbolizes these three virtues, can be easily imagined. Its influence on the people is enormous. Coming from the gods to Jimmu, the first Emperor, himself a descendant of the gods, its existence dates from the very foundation of the Japanese Empire. Without it the Empire would hardly be conceivable to the Japanese people. The whole tradition of the imperial family is bound up in it; its possession bestows sovereignty by divine right; and the instinct of the people . . . is to acknowledge no man as Emperor unless he possess the regal symbols." See *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society* (London) for 1901-1902, vol. vi.

The war was short and decisive. It was a fight between David and Goliath. China with her great inert mass was absolutely helpless in the hands of her tiny antagonist. With the Japanese army in full march upon Peking the Chinese government was forced to sue for peace. China now recognized the independence of Korea, and ceded to Japan Formosa and the extreme southern part of Manchuria, including Port Arthur. But at this juncture of affairs Russia, supported by France and Germany, jealously intervened. These powers forced Japan to accept a money indemnity in lieu of territory on the continent. She was permitted, however, to take possession of the island of Formosa.

108. China in Process of Dismemberment; the Boxer Uprising (1900). — The march of the little Japanese army into the heart of the huge Chinese Empire was in its consequences something like the famous march of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the great Persian Empire. It revealed the surprising weakness of China — a fact known before to all the world, but never so perfectly realized as after the Japanese exploit — and marked her out for partition. The process of dismemberment began without unnecessary delay.

Germany seized the port of Kiao-chau,²⁴ as already noted, and forced from China a ninety-nine years' lease of it and some adjoining territory (January, 1898).

Then Russia asked and received a twenty-five years' lease of Port Arthur (March, 1898). Thereupon England demanded and received from China Wei-hai-wei (April, 1898), to be held by England "as long as Russia should hold Port Arthur."

France viewed these cessions to Germany, Russia, and England with natural jealousy, and immediately sought and obtained from China as compensation a ninety-nine years' lease of the Bay of Kwang-chau-wan (April, 1898).

Italy was now reported to have made demands upon the Chinese government for something as compensation to her for what the other powers had received. The press in Europe and America began openly to discuss the impending partition of the Chinese Empire and to speculate as to how the spoils would be divided.

²⁴ Or Kiao-chau.



Suddenly the whole Western world was startled by the intelligence that the legations or embassies of all the European powers at Peking were hemmed in and besieged by a Chinese mob aided by the imperial troops. Then quickly followed a report of the massacre of all the Europeans in the city.

Strenuous efforts were at once made by the different Western nations, as well as by Japan, to send an international force to the rescue of their representatives and the missionaries and other Europeans with them, should it chance that any were still alive. Not since the Crusades had so many European nations joined in a common undertaking. There were in the relief army Russian, French, English, American, and German troops, besides a strong Japanese contingent. The relief column fought its way through to Peking and forced the gates of the capital. The worst had not happened, and soon the tension of the Western world, which had lasted for six weeks, was relieved by the glad news of the rescue of the beleaguered little company of Europeans.

All which it concerns us now to notice is the place which this remarkable passage in Chinese history holds in the story of European expansion which we have been rehearsing. The point of view to which our study has brought us discloses this at once.

The insurrection had at bottom for its cause the determination of the Chinese to set a limit to the encroachments of the Western races, to prevent the dismemberment of their country, to preserve China for the Chinese. All the various causes that have been assigned for the uprising are included in this general underlying cause.

109. The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).—Early in the year 1904 war opened between Japan and Russia. Respecting the profound cause of this conflict little need be added to what has already been said in the preceding paragraphs. Soon after Russia had forced Japan to give up Port Arthur and the territory in Manchuria ceded to her by the terms of the treaty with China after the Chino-Japanese War of 1894 (sec. 107), she herself secured from China a lease of the most "strategic portion" of this same territory, and straightway proceeded to transform

Port Arthur into a great naval and military fortress, which was to be the Gibraltar of the East. Moreover she occupied the whole of the great Chinese province of Manchuria. Notwithstanding she



FIG. 17. — FIELD MARSHAL OYAMA. (From a stereograph, copyright, 1904, by the H. C. White Company, New York)

had given her solemn pledges that the occupation of this territory should be only temporary, she not only violated these pledges but made it evident by her acts that she intended, besides making Manchuria a part of the Russian Empire, also to seize Korea. But Russian control of this stretch of seaboard and command of the Eastern seas meant that Japan would be hemmed in by a perpetual blockade and her existence as an independent nation imperiled. It would place her destiny in the hands of Russia. Japan could not accept this fate, and drew the sword.

The sanguinary war was signalized by an unbroken series of astonishing victories for the Japanese on land and on sea. They assumed practical control of Korea, and under Field Marshal Oyama wrested from the Russian armies under Kuropatkin the southernmost portion of Manchuria. Port Arthur, after one of the longest and most memorable

sieges of modern times, was forced to capitulate²⁵ (January 11, 1905).

The strong Russian fleet in the Eastern waters at the beginning of hostilities was virtually destroyed.²⁶ A second great fleet sent

²⁵ The siege was conducted by General Nogi and Admiral Togo; the defense of the place was made by General Stoessel.

²⁶ February 25–March 12, 1905, was fought the great battle of Mukden, in which the Japanese were victors.

out from the Baltic Sea was met in the Korean Straits by the Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo and the greater part of the ships were sunk or captured.²⁷

Through the mediation of President Roosevelt peace envoys of Russia and Japan were now brought together at Portsmouth, in the United States, and the war was ended by what will be known in history as the Peace of Portsmouth.²⁸

The ultimate consequences of the war for the nations engaged and for civilization cannot yet be estimated; but it seems certain that the final results will be more momentous and far-reaching than those of any other conflict of races recorded in modern history. One result is already assured. The war has not only safeguarded Japan's national existence but has also insured the territorial integrity of China. In a word, it has set limits to European encroachments in Eastern Asia and put in the hands of the Mongol peoples whose independence has been imperiled the shaping of their own lives and destinies. The entrance of these peoples, under the inspiring leadership of Japan, into the great family of free, self-governed, and progressive nations means the shifting of the center of gravity of the world.²⁹

References. — In preparing the following list of books no attempt has been made to distinguish between primary and secondary authorities, for the reason that so many of the works dealing with the subject of this chapter are of a mixed character.

Works of a general character: MORRIS, *The History of Colonization*; has a good bibliography. IRELAND, *Tropical Colonization*; this also contains a list of books relating to the subject. PAYNE, *European Colonies*. REINSCH, *Colonial Government*. KIDD, *The Control of the Tropics*. BRYCE, *The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind*.

For the British Colonial Empire: SEELEY, *The Expansion of England*. EGERTON, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*. CALDECOTT,

²⁷ May 28, 1905; the Russian fleet was commanded by Admiral Rojestvensky.

²⁸ The treaty was signed September 5, 1905. Among the important articles of this treaty are the following: (1) Permission to Japan to make Korea her ward; (2) the evacuation of Manchuria by both the Russians and the Japanese; (3) the transfer to Japan by Russia of all her rights at Port Arthur and Dalny; (4) the division of the Manchurian railway between Japan and Russia; (5) the cession by Russia to Japan of the southern part of the island of Saghalien.

²⁹ For the influence of the war upon Liberalism in Russia, see sec. 8a.

English Colonization and Empire. BOURINOT, *Canada under British Rule, 1760-1900.* JENKS, *History of the Australasian Colonies.* BRYCE, *Impressions of South Africa.*

For Europe in Africa: JOHNSTON, *A History of the Colonization of Africa.* STANLEY, *Through the Dark Continent and The Congo and the Founding of its Free State.* KELTIE, *The Partition of Africa.* MILNER, *England in Egypt.* HUGHES, *Livingstone.* HILL, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa.* CLOETE, *The History of the Great Boer Trek*; Cloete was the English High Commissioner for Natal in 1843-1844. PAUL KRÜGER, *Memoirs.* DE WET, *Three Years' War.*

For Russia in Asia: KENNAN, *Siberia and the Exile System.* HELLWALD, *The Russians in Central Asia.* CURZON, *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question.* COLQUHOUN, *Russia against India; the Struggle for Asia.* SHOEMAKER, *The Great Siberian Railway.* KRAUSSE, *Russia in Asia.* NORMAN, *All the Russias.* SKRINE, *The Expansion of Russia, 1815-1900.* HOSIE, *Manchuria, its People, Resources, and Recent History.*

For the problems of the Far East created by the European expansion movement: *China's Only Hope*, by Chang Chih Tung, Viceroy of Liang Hi. This has been pronounced by high authority "one of the most remarkable books, if not the most remarkable book, written by a Chinese during the past six hundred years." OKAKURA-KAKUZO, *The Awakening of Japan.* ASAKAWA, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict.* CURZON, *Problems of the Far East.* MAHAN, *The Problem of Asia.* LEROY-BEAULIEU, *The Awakening of the East.* COLQUHOUN, *China in Transformation and The Mastery of the Pacific.* REINSCH, *World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century as Influenced by the Oriental Situation.*

Topics for Class Reports.—1. Résumé of the history of the lost colonial empires of the earlier Modern Age. 2. Livingstone and Stanley. 3. Founding of the Congo Free State. 4. The establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia. 5. The storage dam at the First Cataract of the Nile. 6. The Cape-to-Cairo Railroad. 7. France in Algeria. 8. Germany in Western Asia. 9. The Trans-Siberian Railway. 10. Asia for the Asiatics.

CHAPTER X

THE WORLD STATE

Unconquerable time itself works on unceasingly, bringing the nations nearer to one another, awakening the universal consciousness of the community of mankind; and this is the natural preparation for a common organization of the world. — BLUNTSCHLI.

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw a Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World. — TENNYSON.

110. Introductory. — In the opening paragraph of his suggestive work, *The Expansion of England*, Professor Seeley uses these words: "It is a favorite maxim of mine that history, while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object. That is, it should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future. Now if this maxim be sound, the history of England ought to end with something that might be called a moral. Some large conclusion ought to arise out of it; it ought to exhibit the general tendency of English affairs in such a way as to set us thinking about the future and divining the destiny which is reserved for us."

The inspiring destiny for England which Professor Seeley reads in her past and present history is Imperial Federation, that is, a great federal union embracing the mother land and her colonies, organized after the model of the United States of America.

Professor Seeley's maxim must needs be applied to universal history if its study is to issue in anything really worthy and practical. We must try to discover the tendency of the historic evolution, to discern the set of the current of world events, and to divine the destiny reserved for the human race. Only thus shall

we be able to form practical ideals for humanity and strive intelligently and hopefully for their realization.

The destiny of the human race, as plainly disclosed in its past history, is not disunion but union, not perpetual warfare but perpetual peace. The drift of history from the beginning has been toward a federated world, a world organized for common effort and common accomplishment.

III. From the Clan State to the Federal State. — There is no tendency in universal history, broadly viewed, more manifest than this tendency towards world unity. In the beginning the largest independent group was the clan or tribe. Then came the wider union of the city-state as we find it in Babylonia and Syria, and in Greece and Italy, at the dawn of history. For upwards of two thousand years the city-state was the ultimate political unit in the civilized world of the Mediterranean. Then, — if we disregard purely artificial unions, unions created and maintained by force, such as the Roman Empire, — then came the nation states of modern times, which, since the break-up of the Roman Empire, have been slowly created through the consolidation of tribes, cities, and petty principalities.

And just now among these great nation states a state of a new type has arisen, — the federal state, of which our Union, consisting of forty-five states, is the model. Constituted "in the image and likeness" of this are the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Swiss Confederation, and the new German Empire. So characteristic a feature, indeed, of the political life of the present is this federation movement that ours has been called the Federal Age. "One of the most striking tendencies of the last century," writes Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, "has been the development of federal government in Europe and America." "The aspect of the whole world," writes Parkin, the author of *Imperial Federation*, "irresistibly suggests the thought that we are passing from a nation epoch to a federation epoch."

The significant thing about this federal movement is that the natural and logical issue of national federalism is international federalism. The United States of America foreshadows the United

States of Europe. The obstacles in the way of such a federation of the European nations are not so great as those which, scarcely more than a generation ago, seemed to render chimerical all attempts to build up unified nations out of the discordant elements existing in Italy and in Germany. The creation of the United States of Europe is a light task compared with the creation of the modern European nations out of the mediæval chaos of warring tribes, cities, and feudal principalities. To doubt that the work of organization, so far advanced, will stop short of full accomplishment in the formation of the larger European union, which alone can give real worth and meaning to the narrower national unions, is to doubt that the great tendencies in history are toward any ascertainable and reasonable goal.

112. Preparations in Different Domains for the World State. —

The success which has attended the application of the federal principle to wide unions of states, like that of the United States, creates a reasonable hope that the same principle will be found capable of uniting in a great federation all the nations of the earth. And, in truth, during the last century, in different realms, the prerequisites of such a world union have been supplied by humanity's advance and achievements.

In the political realm all that the age spirit has accomplished would seem to have for its ultimate aim the preparing of the way for international federation. More than a century ago Immanuel Kant, in his essay on *Perpetual Peace*, affirmed that a prerequisite for the federation of the world was the establishment by all the nations of representative government. If we recall what the union of the autocratic governments of Europe in the Holy Alliance meant (sec. 4), we shall understand why Kant made the establishment of free popular institutions within the different nations an indispensable prerequisite of the world union. A world union of despotic governments would be the tomb of liberty, individual and national, — a world-wide Russian despotism.

When Kant wrote his plea for peace, autocratic government prevailed almost everywhere in Europe; in England alone was there the semblance of a representative constitution. We have

seen how, during the century which has passed since then, the Democratic Revolution has established representative government in all the Christian states of Europe save Russia (sec. 82). Furthermore, in all the really vital nations and communities outside of Europe — in the United States, in Canada, in Australia, in Japan — the management of public affairs is in the hands of the people. Thus has the first prerequisite of the formation of the universal state been supplied in the case of almost all the great nations and communities of the civilized world.

A second significant preparation in the political realm for the world union is federalism. This supplies the principle which may be applied to the organization of the world without danger to the principle of local autonomy and legitimate national freedom; for it deprives the uniting states, as exemplified in our own Union, of nothing save that "lawless freedom" which they now use to do one another hurt and harm.

While the basis of a world state has thus been laid in the political domain through the incoming of democracy and federalism, an equally important preparation for the permanent organization of the world has been made in the moral realm. Throughout the last century the sentiment of the brotherhood of man has been greatly deepened and strengthened. There has been growing up, too, a new social conscience which recognizes the universality of the moral law, which recognizes that it is a law as binding upon nations as upon individuals. These new moral feelings constitute a force which is working irresistibly in the interests of a world union based on international amity and good will.

It is most significant that at the same time that these movements towards world unity have characterized progress in the political and moral realms, wonderful discoveries, inventions, and developments in the physical domain, — the steam railway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, wireless telegraphy, and a hundred others, — through the practical annihilation of time and space, have brought the once isolated nations close alongside one another and have made easily possible, in truth made necessary and inevitable, the formation of the world union.

113. The Interparliamentary Union. — One of the most important of the agencies at work for international organization is what is known as the Interparliamentary Union. This is an association made up exclusively of members of national legislatures or parliaments. Its membership now numbers more than two thousand. Because of the noble character of the men composing this international society, as well as because of their connection with the practical work of legislation in the different states, this body is the most influential of the agencies now working for the organization of the world.

114. The International Peace Conference at The Hague and the Establishment of the International Court of Arbitration (1899). — Already more has been accomplished in the way of the actual creation of the machinery of a world state than is generally realized. Just as the nineteenth century was closing the Tsar Nicholas surprised the world by proposing to all the governments having representatives at the Russian court the meeting of a conference "to consider means of insuring the general peace of the world and of putting a limit to the progressive increase of armaments which weigh upon all nations."

All the governments addressed accepted the proposal, and in 1899 the Convention met at The Hague in the Netherlands. The most important outcome of the deliberations of the body was the establishment of a permanent International Court of Arbitration to which all nations may have recourse for the settlement of interstate disputes.

The formation of this International Court is a most noteworthy event. In the words of a recent writer, "It may be possible that looking back a hundred years from now it will be seen that its establishment was the most important single event of modern times." Andrew Carnegie, recognizing the import of the work of the Convention for the peace of the world, has made a gift of \$1,500,000 for the erection at The Hague of a permanent home for the Court, — what is to be known as "The Temple of Peace."

Since the establishment of the Court several cases have been referred to it and amicably settled. Many of the leading nations

have already bound themselves by treaties to refer to the Court

all controversies of a specified character arising between them.

The creation of this International Court of Arbitration brings measurably nearer the time when the barbarous wager of battle between nations shall have become such a tradition of an outgrown past as is now the old wager of battle between individuals.

115. The Call for a Second International Conference and the Proposed Creation of a Stated World Congress or Parliament.

A Supreme Court of the nations having been established, the next step in the organization of the world is the formation of an International Legislature. This step is already being taken.

The Interparliamentary Union, at its meeting held at St. Louis in the fall of 1904, passed a resolution requesting the governments of the different nations to send representatives to a second international conference, and asking that at such



FIG. 18. — "THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES."¹ (From a photograph; courtesy of Señora Carolina Huidobro)

"Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chilians break the peace which at the feet of Christ the Redeemer they have sworn to maintain." — *Inscription on Monument*

¹ In 1903 the South American republics of Chile and Argentina, having happily settled by arbitration a long-standing boundary controversy which threatened to involve the two countries in war, mutually bound themselves by treaty to reduce their military and naval armaments and for a stated period to submit every matter of dispute arising between them to arbitration. Upon one of the highest boundary ranges of the Andes the two nations have erected a colossal bronze statue of Christ as the sacred guardian of the peace to which they are pledged. The statue was unveiled March 13, 1904.

conference there be considered among other matters "the advisability of establishing an International Congress to convene periodically for the discussion of international questions."

The President of the United States was requested by the Union to invite the governments of the world to send delegates to such a conference. He at once complied with the request (October, 1904). The invitations met with cordial responses from all the governments addressed. The assembling of the conference will probably take place some time during the present year (1906).

It is earnestly to be hoped that the deliberations of the proposed meeting may result in the establishment of an international Congress, necessarily with only advisory powers at first, but which, like the Congress of our Confederation of 1781, may in due time grow into a true Legislature, or Parliament, competent to deal with all affairs of international concern. If such should be the outcome of this projected conference, then will the second great step have been taken in the formation of the World State, and hopeful advance made in the establishment among the nations of the conditions of permanent peace. And only thus can these conditions be established, because "for states in their relations to one another there can be, according to reason, no other way out of the lawless condition which inevitably results in war than that they give up their lawless freedom, just as individual men do, accommodate themselves to public constraining laws, and so form an international state (*civitas gentium*) which will grow and at last embrace all the peoples of the earth."²

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² Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*.

CONCLUSION

THE NEW AGE: INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

116. The Age of Material Progress, or the Industrial Age. — History has been well likened to a grand dissolving view. While one age is passing away another is coming into prominence. Before the movement in the political realm which we have been following, and which is creating free self-directing nations and organizing them in a world-wide union, has yet reached its consummation, the scene is already shifting. During the last hundred years the features of a new age have distinctly appeared. A new movement of human society has begun. Civilization has fairly entered upon what may be called the Industrial Age, or the Age of Material Progress.

This age may be conceived as having had its beginnings in the industrial revolution brought in by the invention in the latter part of the eighteenth century of the spinning jenny, the power loom, and the steam engine. In the decade between 1830 and 1840 the industrial development thus initiated received a great impulse through the bringing to practical perfection of the earlier inventions and by new discoveries and fresh inventions. Prominent among these were the steam railway, the electric telegraph, and the ocean steamship. In the year 1830 Stephenson exhibited the first really successful locomotive. In 1836 Morse perfected the telegraph. In 1838 ocean steamship navigation was first practically solved.¹

These and other inventions which have grown out of them have brought about momentous changes in the social and the political

¹ These inventions may be compared, in their relations to the new industrial age, to the three great inventions or discoveries, namely, printing, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass, which ushered in the Modern Age.

world.² But it is only the revolution which they have wrought in the industrial domain to which we would now direct attention. And the significant fact for us here to note is that through the application of these inventions to the processes of manufacture and to the thousand other industries and activities of mankind the productive forces of society have been almost incalculably increased. Probably more things contributive to human well-being can now be produced in a single day than were produced in ten or twenty days at the opening of the century. In some important branches of manufacture the productive power of the workman, aided by machinery, has been increased a hundred and even a thousand fold.

The history of this age of industry, so different from any preceding age, cannot yet be written, for no one can tell whether the epoch is just opening or is already well advanced.³ We shall have finished the task set ourselves when we have merely stated the leading problem which this remarkable industrial development has created, and indicated the solution of that problem which the Socialists have proposed.

117. The Labor Problem. — Beyond controversy the great problem of the epoch, one involving many others, is the so-called Labor Problem. This, plainly stated, is, How are the products of the world's industry to be equitably distributed?

The condition of things is this. Through the employment of the forces of nature and the use of improved machinery, economic

² Thus, for illustration, the increased facilities for travel, by bringing men together and familiarizing them with new scenes and different forms of society and belief, are making them more liberal and tolerant. Still again, by the virtual annihilation of time and space, governmental problems are being solved. As we have just seen, a chief difficulty in maintaining a federation of states widely separated has already been removed and such extended territories as those of the United States have been made practically as compact as the most closely consolidated European state.

³ It may well be that we have already seen the greatest surprises of the age, so far as great inventions and discoveries are concerned, and that the epoch is nearing its culmination. "It is probable," says Professor Richard T. Ely, "that as we, after more than two thousand years, look back upon the time of Pericles with wonder and astonishment, as an epoch great in art and literature, posterity two thousand years hence will regard our era as forming an admirable and unparalleled epoch in the history of industrial invention" (*French and German Socialism in Modern Times*).

goods, that is, products adapted to meet the physical wants of men, can be produced in almost unlimited quantities. But this increase in society's productive power has brought little or no corresponding augmentation of material well-being to the laboring classes. Owing to some defect in our industrial system a few secure a disproportionate share of its benefits.⁴ Great monopolies or trusts are created and fabulous fortunes are amassed by a few fortunate individuals, while perhaps the majority of the laborers for wages, with their toil lightened comparatively little or not at all, receive almost nothing beyond the means of narrow and bare subsistence.

This inequitable distribution of wealth, of material well-being, this practical exclusion of the masses from the greater part of the benefits and enjoyments of modern civilization, is creating everywhere the most dangerous discontent among the laboring classes and is awakening among philanthropists and statesmen the greatest solicitude and apprehension.

118. Socialism, or Social Democracy. — The proposed solution of the problem which has awakened most thought and created most debate is that offered by the Socialists, or Social Democrats. Just as our own government — state, city, or national — now owns schoolhouses and controls education, owns and conducts the post office, municipal water works, and other public utilities, so would the Socialists have the government by the gradual extension of its functions come into possession of the railways, the telegraph,⁵ the mines, mills, factories, the land, — in a word, of all the means of production, of all those things upon which or in connection with which human labor is spent in order to satisfy human wants and to meet human desires.

⁴ According to a recent estimate 125,000 families of the wealthy class in the United States hold \$33,000,000,000 of the total wealth of the nation, while 5,500,000 families of the poorer class possess only \$800,000,000. To put it in another way, in every one hundred families of the nation one family holds more than the remaining ninety-nine. Nearly half the families of the nation are classed as "propertyless," that is, as having nothing save clothing and household furniture. See Spahr, *An Essay on the Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (1896), p. 69.

⁵ In many of the countries of Europe the railways and the telegraph are already largely in the hands of the government.

The Socialists maintain that only under such a system as this — which would do away with the wage system and with private capital, though not with private property — can the present exploitation of labor by capital be made impossible and every man be secured reasonable participation in the benefits of the gifts of nature and of the new inventions and discoveries which are rendering nature with all her mighty forces man's willing servant.

Socialists lay great emphasis on this, namely, that what they propose is in line and harmony with the great historic movements of the past centuries. They maintain that the democratization of wealth⁶ is the logical issue of the democratization of knowledge, of religion, and of government by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Democratic Revolution. For them the coming Industrial Revolution⁷ is the next and necessary phase of the progressive course of civilization.

⁶ It should be carefully noted that democracy in wealth does not mean communism, which denies individual rights in property, any more than democracy in religion means atheism, or democracy in politics, anarchy. It simply looks to such a reform of the present economic system as shall secure to every man an equitable proportion of the material goods which his labor helps to create, or "an apportionment of well-being according to labor performed."

⁷ It will be noted that to the term "Industrial Revolution," as used by the Socialists, there attaches a wholly different meaning from that which it carries when used by the political economists. What the latter call the "Industrial Revolution" is to the Socialist only an antecedent of the real Revolution, which is still to come.

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NOTE. — In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed to be clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: *ā*, like *a* in *grāy*; *ā̃*, like *ā*, only less prolonged; *ä*, like *a* in *hāve*; *ä̃*, like *a* in *fär*; *a*, like *a* in *all*; *ē* like *ee* in *meet*; *ē̃*, like *ē*, only less prolonged; *ẽ*, like *e* in *ẽnd*; *ê*, like *e* in *thère*; *ẽ̃*, like *e* in *ẽrr*; *ī*, like *i* in *pīne*; *ĩ*, like *i* in *pīn*; *ō*, like *o* in *nōte*; *ō̃*, like *ō*, only less prolonged; *õ*, like *o* in *nõt*; *ð*, like *o* in *ðrb*; *oo*, like *oo* in *moon*; *ū*, like *u* in *ūse*; *ũ*, like the French *u*; *c* and *ch*, like *k*; *ç*, like *s*; *g̃*, like *g* in *g̃et*; *ğ*, like *j*; *ş*, like *s*; *ch*, as in German *ach*; *G*, small capital, as in German *Hamburg*; *ñ*, like *ni* in *minion*; *ñ̃* denotes the nasal sound in French, being similar to *ng* in *song*.

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